

ST. SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA
The Liturgical Commentaries

This volume contains an edition and facing English translation of Ἑρμηνεία περὶ τοῦ θείου ναοῦ (*Explanation of the Divine Temple*) and "Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας" ("On the Sacred Liturgy"), the two commentaries on the pontifical (hierarchical) Byzantine Divine Liturgy by St. Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429). This edition is based on MS Zagora 23, which contains extensive corrections and additions apparently added to the text by the author himself. The book opens with a historical and theological foreword on liturgical commentaries and mystagogy by Archimandrite Robert Taft. The introduction surveys the life and career of St. Symeon, analyzes the structure and theology of the commentaries, and concludes with an account of technical and editorial questions. The index includes references to names, places, and topics in Symeon's text and in the introduction and traces key terms in the commentaries in both Greek and English.

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ST. SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA
The Liturgical Commentaries

Edited and translated by
STEVEN HAWKES-TEEPLES



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This book is dedicated
with affection and admiration to
Right Reverend Archimandrite Robert F. Taft, SJ, FBA,
my friend, my teacher, my mentor,
my colleague, my brother Jesuit,
and fellow Byzantine priest.

He has taught us so much
in his writings and lectures
and more by example.

ΜΗΝΟΓΑΛΩ ΕΜΩ ΛΕΓΤΑ!

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Abbreviations

For complete details on published works listed here, please consult the bibliography.

- BAS Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil the Great
 CHR Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom
 DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
 E St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *Ερμηνεία περὶ τοῦ θείου ναοῦ*
 (*Explanation of the Divine Temple*)
 JAS Liturgy of St. James
 L St. Symeon of Thessalonika, "Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας" ("On
 the Sacred Liturgy")
 OCA *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
 OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
 ODB *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Alexander P. Kazhdan
 ODCC *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by Frank L. Cross
 and Elizabeth A. Livingstone
 PG *Patrologia Graeca*
 PHW *Politico-historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonika*
 (1416/17 to 1429), ed. by David Balfour
 PL *Patrologia Latina*
 REB *Revue des études byzantines*
 SC *Sources chrétiennes*
 ThW *Αγίου Συμεών ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης (1416/17-1429)*
Ἔργα Θεολογικά (Theological works of St. Symeon, Archbishop
 of Thessalonika, 1416/17-1429), ed. by David Balfour
 Z Zagora (Greece), Zagora Public Library, Manuscript 23

Foreword

With this book Fr. Steven Hawkes-Teeples, SJ, Professor of Byzantine Liturgy at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, fills a gaping hole in the scholarly literature associated with the overlapping academic fields of Byzantine Studies, Medieval Studies, Orthodox Theology, and Oriental Liturgiology. The present volume represents the first translation into any modern western academic language of both commentaries of St. Symeon of Thessalonika (d. 1429) on the Byzantine Divine Liturgy or Eucharist. Such neglect is surprising, for St. Symeon is an author of the first importance. As the last and most prolific Orthodox liturgical theologian of the Byzantine era, who lived at the point when the Byzantine Empire was moving toward its demise before the Ottoman onslaught, he crowns and closes his era. Furthermore, as René Bornert, OSB, the undisputed master of this literary genre, has affirmed, Symeon's fresh return to the sources of Byzantine mystagogy in the writings of Saints Pseudo-Dionysios (5th c.) and Maximos Confessor (ca. 630) assures him a place apart in the history of Byzantine liturgical theology.¹ Yet, as Bornert commented: "For the West, Symeon of Thessalonika is more or less an unknown. And worse still, various judgments made about him distort him."² This book will hopefully remedy that neglect and injustice.

*Patristic and Byzantine Mystagogy*³

Byzantine liturgical commentaries, known in the trade as "mystagogy" but sometimes disparagingly referred to as "allegories," are not the most

- 1 René Bornert, *Les Commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1966) 245: "Syméon de Thessalonique est pour l'Occident plus ou moins un inconnu. Plus encore, divers jugements qui furent portés sur lui le défigurent."
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Material in this section is based on my study "The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm," *DOP* 34-35 (1980-1981) 45-75 (reprinted in Robert F. Taft, *Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1995) chapter 1.

esteemed theological literature today.⁴ But only at the risk of one's credibility as an objective student of cultural history could one summarily dismiss so durable a literary genre. And in fact research has begun of late to present a more nuanced evaluation of this material, thanks largely to the masterful pioneering work of two Catholic priest-scholars, Hans-Joachim Schulz and the already mentioned R. Bornert.⁵ This is a welcome change, for what Frederik van der Meer said of the Bible is equally apposite of mystagogy:

Those who cannot see beyond the external and visible quality of the sign and who cannot progress beyond the literal meaning of the words...are to be pitied, for in both instances it is right to say that while the spirit enlivens, the letter kills. As against this, the least of symbols, if understood, can greatly uplift the spirit, for it was for this purpose that the things of this world were created.⁶

Traditional Byzantine liturgical interpretation or mystagogy depends on a ritual symbolism determined by the testimony of tradition rooted in the Bible. Like the Scriptures, the rites of the Church require a hermeneu-

4 For negative views of this mystagogy see, e.g., Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London, 1948; New Rochelle, NY, 1976) 15; Alexander Schmemmann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology*, trans. by Asheleigh Moorehouse (London, 1966) 99ff; Schmemmann, *The Eucharist, Sacrament of the Kingdom*, trans. by Paul Kachur (Crestwood, NY, 1988) chaps. 1–2 and *passim*; Schmemmann, *Journals of Father Alexander Schmemmann 1973–1983*, trans. by Juliana Schmemmann (Crestwood, NY, 2000) 220–221. For more nuanced and/or positive views of this literary genre, see Bornert; David W. Fagerberg, *Theologia prima: What is Liturgical Theology?* (Chicago and Mundelein, 2004) 162–188; John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, 1976) 118, 202ff; Paul Meyendorff, "Introduction" in *On the Divine Liturgy* by Saint Germanus of Constantinople, Greek text with translation, introduction and commentary by Paul Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY, 1984) 9–54, esp. 23–53; Hans-Joachim Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy. Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression*, trans. by Matthew J. O'Connell (New York, 1986); Schulz, "Kultsymbolik der byzantinischen Kirche," in *Symbolik des orthodoxen und orientalischen Christentums* (Stuttgart, 1962) 1:17, 20–21; Meletij M. Solovey, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy. History and Commentary* (Washington, DC, 1970) 70ff; Taft, "Liturgy of the Great Church: Initial Synthesis," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–1981) 45–75 (reprinted in *Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond*) chapter 1; J. van Rossum, "Dom Odo Casel O.S.B. (†1948)," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 22 (1978) 150–151.

5 Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy*; Bornert; Taft, "Liturgy of the Great Church" 45–75.

6 Augustine the Bishop. *The Life and Work of a Father of the Church*, trans. by B. Battershaw and G.R. Lamb (London and New York, 1961) 300.

tic to expound, interpret, and apply their multiple levels of meaning in each age. Since mystagogy is to liturgy what exegesis is to scripture, the commentators on the liturgy used a method inherited from the older tradition of biblical exegesis.

For the Fathers of the Church, Sacred Scripture presents more than a holy history. Contemplated in faith, the salvific events narrated in the Bible are perceived as containing a higher truth — their eternal verity — as well as a practical application for here and now and a sign of what is to come. These are the famous four senses pithily summarized in the oft-quoted medieval distich attributed to Augustine of Dacia (d. ca. 1282):

Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.⁷

Which one might translate:

The literal sense teaches the events, the allegorical what you must believe;

The moral sense what you must do, the anagogical where you must go.

Thus the Old Testament historical events are understood as "only a shadow of what is to come; the substance belongs to Christ" (Col 2:17; cf. Heb 10:1, Rom 5:14, 2 Cor 3:6–16).

For the Bible itself as well as for the Church Fathers, this is not a secondary, "added" sense. Until it is grasped, the Old Testament has simply not been understood. To uncover this Christian sense was the sole aim of Early Christian exegesis; its justification was found in the words of Jesus Himself:

You search the scriptures, because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that bear witness to me (Jn 5:39).

If you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote of me (Jn 5:46).

And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself (Lk 24:27).

7 On the text and its transmission, see Henri de Lubac, "Sur un vieux distique. La doctrine du 'quadruple sens'," in *Mélanges offerts à R.P. Ferdinand Cavallera* (Toulouse, 1948) 347–366; de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture*, pt. 1 vols. 1–2; pt. 2 vols. 1–2 (Théologie 41, 42, 59, Paris, 1959–1964) 1: 1.1, 23ff.

Since Origen (d. 253), these two senses have been referred to as "literal" or "historical," and as "spiritual" or "mystical" or "allegorical" — though "allegory" here does not bear its contemporary pejorative connotation.⁸ Later classification into four senses is just an explication of the "spiritual" sense under three aspects:⁹

- 1 The *allegorical* or dogmatic, which interprets the Old Testament as referring to the mystery of Christ and of the Church. Its realm is *faith*.
- 2 The *tropological* or moral/spiritual, which relates the allegorical sense of the mystery to Christian life: what we believe to what we do. Its realm is *charity*.
- 3 The *anagogical* or eschatological, which points to the final accomplishment we await in the kingdom to come, and to our present contemplation of this future heavenly reality. Its realm is *hope*.

This exegesis is rooted in the conviction that the Bible has relevance for human life in every age, a conviction based on the belief — stated explicitly in the New Testament — that the old dispensation prefigures and can be understood only in light of the new; that the mystery of divine life revealed and lived by Christ is the wellspring and model for the lives of all who are baptized into him; and that this mystery will reach its hoped-for consummation in the end of days. This is quite the opposite of modern scriptural studies, which interpret the New Testament in light of the Old, not vice-versa as did the Fathers of the Church.

- 8 In classical rhetoric, allegory is an extended metaphor. Christian exegetes borrowed this figure of speech and applied it not to language, but to event, as when the passage of the Red Sea is seen as a figure of Christ's baptism. It is not a question of the hidden sense of the text, or of the relation between visible and invisible realities, but of the relation between two historical events of different epochs in salvation history, such as the Passover of the Jews and that of Jesus. But in addition to this *allegoria facti* there was also the *allegoria dicti*, which sought hidden meanings, often contrived, in the biblical text. It is the application of this arbitrarily extended metaphorical interpretation to liturgical rites in the Middle Ages that contemporary liturgists generally refer to, pejoratively, as allegory.
- 9 All levels are expressed in Heb 13:11–16: "...the bodies of those animals whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest as a sacrifice for sin are burned outside the camp. So Jesus also suffered outside the gate in order to sanctify the people through his own blood. Therefore let us go forth to him outside the camp, bearing abuse for him. For here we have no lasting city, but we seek the city which is to come. Through him, then, let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that acknowledge his name. Do not neglect to do good and to share what you have, for such sacrifices are pleasing to God."

Theodore of Mopsuestia

In Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Catechetical Homilies*, written around 388–392, we see the first extensive application of this method, which views the eucharistic liturgy as both an image and pre-figuration of the heavenly and eschatological realities, and a memorial representation of the historical economy of Christ. Theodore's *Homily 15* announces this dual spirit:¹⁰

(15) ...Since the bishop performs in symbol signs of the heavenly realities, the sacrifice must manifest them, so that he presents, as it were, an image of the heavenly liturgy... (19) It follows that, since there needs to be a representation of the High Priest, certain individuals are appointed to preside over the liturgy of these signs. For we believe that what Christ our Lord performed in reality, and will continue to perform, is performed through the sacraments....

(20) ...Every time, then, there is performed the liturgy of this awesome sacrifice, which is the clear image of the heavenly realities, we should imagine that we are in heaven... Faith enables us to picture in our minds the heavenly realities, as we remind ourselves that the same Christ who is in heaven...is now being immolated under these symbols. So when faith enables our eyes to contemplate the commemoration that now takes place, we are brought again to see his death, resurrection, and ascension, which have already taken place for our sake.

The second dimension, that of the liturgy as representing the Saving Mysteries of Christ's earthly Economy of Salvation, Theodore develops in *Homily 15*, 24–25 and *Homily 16*, a perspective that one can trace to 4th c. Jerusalem and the discovery of the Holy Places after the Peace of Constantine ca. 312/3, when we first encounter the topographical system of church symbolism in which various parts of the building are deemed to represent places hallowed during the Passion Triduum: Cenacle, Calvary, Holy Sepulcher.¹¹ What was spread across the map of Jerusalem's holy history came to be written small in the humbler churches of Eastern Christendom. Thus the sanctuary apse becomes the cave of the Holy Sep-

¹⁰ I cite the version of Edward Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation. Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (Slough, 1971), who has taken the liberty of collapsing Theodore's verbiage into more manageable English.

¹¹ This can be seen already ca. AD 384 in §§24–28 of the diary of the famous peregrinating nun Egeria, trans. by John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London, 1971) 123–124.

ulcher, and the altar Christ's tomb from which salvation comes forth to the world.

Theodore of Mopsuestia's application of this symbolism to the eucharist was so congruous as to be inevitable, thereby inaugurating a tradition of interpretation that eventually spread throughout the whole of Christendom. Relevant for us here is the dominant role it came to play in the eucharistic symbol-system of the Byzantine tradition, where it makes its first appearance ca. 730 in the commentary of Constantinopolitan Patriarch St. Germanos I, writing on the eve of Iconoclasm, in an age hostile to the spiritualization of symbolism. It is a commonplace to speak of the symbolic character of Byzantine art and liturgy. But in the struggle with Iconoclasm we see the victory of a more literalist popular and monastic piety precisely in favor of a less symbolic and more representational, figurative religious art: already in the Quinisext Council in Trullo (691/2), canon 82 ordains that Christ be portrayed henceforth in human form, and not symbolically as the Lamb of God.¹²

Now symbolism and portrayal are not at all the same thing either in art or in liturgy, and the effect of this popular mentality on liturgical theology can be observed in the condemnation of the iconoclastic view that the eucharist is the only valid symbol of Christ.¹³ Orthodoxy responded that the eucharist is not a symbol of Christ, but indeed Christ himself.¹⁴ Analogous developments reached their head later, in the 9th c. West, but Eastern image-theology was able to preserve Byzantine liturgical theory from the radical disjunction between symbol and reality that was to plague Western eucharistic theology until modern times. In the aftermath of Iconoclasm the iconodule theory of religious images and liturgical symbolism gained the upper hand in Byzantine theology at the same time, representing the victory of monastic popular devotion over a more spiritualist approach.

This is what Germanos effected for liturgy. How he did so can be seen in his explanation of the church building, in one of the most frequently quoted passages of Byzantine liturgical literature:

The church is heaven on earth, where the God of heaven dwells and moves. It images forth the crucifixion and burial and resurrection of Christ. It is glorified above the tabernacle of the testimony of Moses

12 *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by Giovanni D. Mansi, 53 tomes in 58 vols. (Paris and Leipzig, 1901–1927) 11:977–980.

13 Horos of the iconoclastic council of 754, Mansi 13:264; Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972) 166.

14 VII Ecumenical Council (787), Mansi 13:264.

with its expiatory and holy of holies, prefigured in the patriarchs, founded by the prophets, founded on the apostles, adorned in the hierarchs, perfected in the martyrs...

The holy altar stands for the place where Christ was laid in the grave, on which the true and heavenly bread, the mystical and bloodless sacrifice, lies, His flesh and blood offered to the faithful as the food of eternal life. It is also the throne of God on which the incarnate God reposes...and like the table at which He was in the midst of His disciples at His mystical supper...prefigured in the table of the Old Law where the manna was, which is Christ, come down from heaven.¹⁵

Note that the problem of later medieval liturgical allegory consists not in the multiplicity of systematically layered symbols such as we find here in Germanos and in patristic exegesis. The later one-symbol-per-object correspondence results not from the tidying up of an earlier incoherent primitiveness, but from the decomposition of the earlier patristic mystery-theology into a historicizing system of dramatic narrative allegory. All levels — Old Testament preparation, Last Supper, accomplishment on Calvary, eternal heavenly offering, present liturgical event — must be held in dynamic unity by any interpretation of the eucharist. To separate these levels, then parcel out the elements bit by bit according to some chronologically consecutive narrative sequence, is to turn ritual into drama, symbol into allegory, mystery into history.

This is crucial: allegory represents the breakdown of metaphorical language. The precise genius of metaphorical language is to hold in dynamic tension several levels of meaning simultaneously. In this sense, one and the same eucharistic table must be at once Holy of Holies, Golgotha, tomb of the resurrection, Cenacle, and heavenly sanctuary of the Letter to the Hebrews. So it is not the multiplicity of meanings but the attempt to parcel them out that can lead to an artificial literalism destructive of symbol and metaphor. That is precisely what Germanos refuses to do, thereby remaining faithful to what J. Daniélou indicates as the unitary vision of these monuments of Christian culture:

The Christian faith has only one object: the mystery of Christ dead and risen. But this unique mystery subsists under different modes: it is prefigured in the Old Testament, it is accomplished historically in

15 Greek text: *St. Germanus of Constantinople on the Divine Liturgy*, Greek text with trans., intro., and commentary by Paul Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY, 1984) 56–58, §§ 1, 4; my translation.

the earthly life of Christ, it is contained in mystery in the sacraments, it is lived mystically in souls, it is accomplished socially in the Church, it is consummated eschatologically in the heavenly kingdom. Thus the Christian has at his disposition several registers, a multi-dimensional symbolism, to express this unique reality. The whole of Christian culture consists in grasping the links that exist between Bible and Liturgy, Gospel and Eschatology, Mysticism and Liturgy. The application of this method to scripture is called spiritual exegesis; applied to liturgy it is called mystagogy. *This consists in reading in the rites the mystery of Christ, and in contemplating beneath the symbols the invisible reality.*¹⁶

For over six hundred years Germanos' synthesis reigned with undisputed primacy over the field of Byzantine liturgical explanation until Symeon.

St. Symeon's Return to Alexandrian Symbolism

What St. Symeon does at the sunset of Byzantine eucharistic theology is return to a more spiritualistic Alexandrine-type liturgical mystagogy inherited from the works of Pseudo-Dionysios and Maximos Confessor. In his *Dialogue Against All Heresies*, Symeon expresses this theology in these words:

There is one and the same church, above and below, since God came and appeared among us, and was seen in our form and accomplished what he did for us. And the Lord's priestly activity and communion and contemplation constitute one single work, which is carried out at the same time both above and here below, but with this difference: above it is done without veils and symbols, but here it is accomplished through symbols...¹⁷

This vision persisted in the post-Byzantine Orthodox culture that Romanian Byzantinist Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940) famously christened *Byzance après Byzance*,¹⁸ as we see classically expressed in the legendary origins of Kievan Christianity. According to the so-called *Chronicle of*

16 Jean Daniélou, "Le symbolisme des rites baptismaux," *Dieu vivant* 1 (1945) 17, emphasis added.

17 PG 155:340AB, trans. adapted from Nicholas Constas.

18 Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance: continuation de l'"Histoire de la vie byzantine"* (Bucharest, 1935; reprinted, Bucharest, 1971).

Nestor for the year 987, the Bulgars (Muslims), Germans (Latins), Jews and Greeks had all tried to persuade Prince Vladimir of Kiev to adopt their faith as the religion of Rus'. So the prince sent out emissaries to examine what these faiths had to offer. When the embassy reached Constantinople, the *Chronicle* recounts,

...the Emperor sent a message to the Patriarch to inform him that a Russian delegation had arrived to examine the Greek faith, and directed him to prepare the church and the clergy, and to array himself in his sacerdotal robes, so that the Russes might behold the glory of the God of the Greeks. When the Patriarch received these commands, he bade the clergy assemble, and they performed the customary rites. They burned incense, and the choirs sang hymns. The Emperor accompanied the Russes to the church, and placed them in a wide space, calling their attention to the beauty of the edifice, the chanting, and the pontifical services and the ministry of the deacons, while he explained to them the worship of his God.

When they arrived home, the ambassadors reported to Vladimir. The worship of the Moslems had not impressed them. As for the Germans [i.e., Latins], they had seen them performing many ceremonies in their temples; but we beheld no glory there. Then we went to Greece, and the Greeks led us to the edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations. For we cannot forget that beauty.¹⁹

This Byzantine world-view is not fantasy: it is based on the mystery of Christ's Incarnation, announced in the Scriptures and explicated in the texts of the liturgy. The Letter of St. Paul to the Philippians (2:5-11) captures the entire kerygma:

...Christ Jesus,
though he was in the form of God,
did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped,
but emptied himself,
taking the form of a servant,
being born in the likeness of men.

19 *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, ed. and English trans. by Samuel H. Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, MA, 1953) 110-111.

And being found in human form,
 he humbled himself and became obedient unto death,
 even death on a cross.
 Therefore God has highly exalted him,
 and bestowed on him the name which is above every name,
 that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend,
 in heaven and on earth and under the earth,
 and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord,
 to the glory of God the Father!

This lyrical creed summarizes the doctrinal basis for Orthodox and Catholic liturgical theology rooted in the Paschal Mystery of Christ, from the kenosis or self-emptying of his Incarnation, Passion, and Crucifixion; to his exaltation via Resurrection, Ascension, and Session at the right hand of the Father; and to ultimate glorification in the celestial liturgy of the Lamb, with the angels and saints before the throne of God. These interdependent doctrines, seminal to the Byzantine world-view, are like successive interlocking links in a chain, the whole derived from the Incarnation of the God-man Jesus.

What had once been seen as an unbridgeable chasm between the divinity and humankind had, for Christians, been closed by the eternal Word of God made flesh. This not only bridged the gulf between the divinity and humankind, it also made God's saving dispensation a permanent reality. For Byzantine culture it also made the divine portrayable in icon and ritual: "...the defenders of the holy images founded the possibility of Christian iconography on the fact of the Incarnation of the Word."²⁰ As St. John Damascene (ca. 675–d. 749), "last of the Greek Fathers," taught in his *First Apology Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images* 16: "In former times God, who is without form or body, could never be depicted. But now when God is seen in the flesh...I make an image of the God whom I see."²¹ In this theology, church ritual constitutes both a *representation* and a *re-presentation* — a rendering present again — of the earthly saving work of Christ.

It is this vision that St. Symeon of Thessalonika renews in his works. His *Dialogue Against All Heresies*, §§289–290, gives it Byzantine theological expression in these words:²²

20 Vladimir Lossky, "Tradition and Traditions," in Lossky and Leonid Ouspensky, *The Meaning of Icons*, trans. by G.E.H. Palmer and E. Kadloubovsky (Crestwood, NY, 1982) 9–22, here 14.

21 John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images. Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images*, trans. by David Anderson (Crestwood, NY, 1980) 23.

22 PG 155:524D–525A, trans. adapted from Nicholas Constas.

...Jesus, who is bodiless, ineffable, and cannot be apprehended, but who for our sakes assumed a body, and becoming comprehensible was "seen and conversed with men" (Bar 3:38), remaining God, so that he might sanctify us in a twofold manner, according to that which is invisible and that which is visible... And thus he transmitted the sacraments to us in a twofold form, at once visible and material, for the sake of our body, and at the same time intelligible and mystical, and filled with invisible grace for the sake of our soul...

For not only did God become visible in Christ, Christians believe. The mystery theology of the Greek Fathers rendered Neoplatonism active and open to sacramental portrayal by taking Platonism's static, vertical vision of the relation between the visible and invisible worlds and turning it on its side, horizontally, rendering it dynamic by using it to interpret not abstract concepts but the very concrete narrative of Salvation History.²³

The fundamental problem of Christian soteriology is how to justify the doctrine that what Jesus did in the past is salvific for Christians of every age, i.e., how to ground theologically the realism the Catholic and Orthodox traditions attribute to Jesus' ongoing saving activity in the rites of the Church.²⁴ Orthodox-Catholic Christians believe that a liturgy rooted in the mystery of the Risen Christ not only symbolizes the heavenly reality; it also renders permanently active and visible on earth whatever the Incarnate Word was and did.

In other words, Byzantine Orthodox Christians base the realism of their liturgy on faith in the reality of the Risen Christ. Because the Risen Jesus is humanity glorified, he is present through his Spirit to every place and age not only as savior, but as saving; not only as Lord, but as priest and sacrifice and victim. This is because nothing in his being or action is ever past except the historical mode of its manifestation. Hence Jesus is not extraneous to the heavenly-earthly liturgy of the Church, but its first protagonist. As the Byzantine Liturgy prays: "You are the one who offers and is offered, who receives the offering and is given back to us!"²⁵ How

23 See Alexander Gerken, *Theologie der Eucharistie* (Munich, 1973) 65-74.

24 For a fuller presentation of these theological concepts, see Taft, *Beyond East and West. Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (2nd ed. Rome, 1997) chapters 1 and esp. 13; Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, MN, 1986) chapter 21.

25 Frank E. Brightman and C.E. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western. Vol. 1 Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896) 378. On this prayer and the phrase in question, see Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (2nd ed. Rome, 1978) chapter 3, esp. pp. 135-141.

this can be possible metaphysically, modern liturgical theologians have long disputed.²⁶ But that it does happen is the faith of the Fathers testified to clearly in the witness of such Byzantine liturgical texts.

Many such texts could be cited. Standing before the sanctuary doors, the celebrant recites the Introit Prayer of the Divine Liturgy that evokes the vision of the heavenly sanctuary he is about to enter, with its explicit reference to the sacred ministers of the earthly liturgy "concelebrating" in the Heavenly Liturgy of the Angelic Choirs:

O Lord and Master, our God, who in heaven has established the orders and armies of angels and archangels to minister unto your majesty, grant that the holy angels may enter with us, concelebrating (συλλειτουργούντων) and glorifying your goodness with us, for to you belongs all glory, honor and worship, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen!²⁷

This Prayer of the Minor Introit or "Little Entrance," as it is usually called, expresses the original symbolism and theological basis of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy: that what we do on our earthly altars is the living icon of the eternal worship that the Risen Son of God carries on for all eternity before the Heavenly Altar of his Father above. For, as the Letter to the Hebrews teaches, "Christ has entered not into a sanctuary made with hands, a copy of the true one, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God on our behalf" (Heb 9:24). Its eternal and ever-present force comes from the fact that our service is in every sense a participation in the Heavenly Worship of the Lamb as portrayed in the Apocalypse or Book of Revelation that concludes the New Testament.

We see a further illustration of the same theology in the Troparion or refrain the priest recites while incensing at the end of Prothesis or Preparation of the Gifts:

While in the tomb with your body, and in Hell with your soul as God, and in Paradise with the Good Thief, you were also enthroned, O

26 One of the best summaries of the debate and its relevant literature can be found in a recent excellent and — for a change — well-written theological book that has yet to receive the attention it deserves: Jerome M. Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ. The Holy Spirit and Liturgical Memory in the Thought of Edward J. Kilmartin* (Collegeville, MN 2001) 149–166, esp. 155.

27 Brightman 312.13–24 (left column).

Christ, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, permeating all things because nothing holds you bound!²⁸

Likewise, in the Skeuophylakon Prayer or final prayer at the consummation of the leftover eucharistic gifts proper to the Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, we read:

The mystery of your dispensation, O Christ our God, has been accomplished and perfected insofar as was within our power: for we have had a memorial of your death; we have seen a figure of your resurrection; we have been filled with your unending life; we have enjoyed your inexhaustible delight. May you be pleased to grant all this to us also in the age to come, through the grace of your eternal Father and of your holy and gracious and life-giving Spirit, now and ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen!²⁹

As the great German Lutheran historian of Christian theology Carl Gustav Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930) put it, “Today, we understand by symbol something that is not the same as what it signifies. At that time [of the Fathers of the Church], one understood symbol to mean something that in some sense really is what it signifies...”³⁰

*The End?*³¹

But then came the end, the fall of Thessalonika to the Turks on March 29, 1430, shortly after Symeon’s death, then of Constantinople twenty-three years later, on May 29, 1453, one of the greatest disasters of Christian history, when the young Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror, barely twenty-one, in the third year of his reign (1451–1481), made his triumphal entrance to take possession of Hagia Sophia, its loss the eternal symbol of a forever lost Byzantium.

28 Brightman 361.22–24, taken from among the Paschal troparia of the Divine Office and from Sunday Matins: Henrica Follieri, *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae* (Vatican City, 1960–1966) 1:462.

29 Brightman 411.24–31.

30 “Wir verstehen heute unter Symbol eine Sache, die das nicht ist, was sie bedeutet; damals verstand man unter Symbol eine Sache, die das in irgendwelchem Sinne wirklich ist, was sie bedeutet...”: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3 vols. (4th ed. Tübingen, 1909–1910) 1:476.

31 This section is inspired by my recent book *Through Their Own Eyes. Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It* (Berkeley, 2006) 158–160.

But was it the end? Was everything lost? Let me conclude by quoting Peter Hammond's *The Waters of Marah* on what continued — indeed, continues still today:

...throughout the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Greek Church held fast the traditions which enshrined the saving truths of the divine economy. The Gospel was preached less by means of homilies and sermons than through the regular cycle of feast and fast...the visible catechism of the Church's liturgy. So it was that the faith was preserved as a royal treasure: the life of the mystical body burned on in secret, though the royal priesthood might be "expelled their Churches and those converted into Moschs; the Mysteries of the Altar conceal'd in dark places..."³²

For the Greek Christian...the humblest village church is always *heaven upon earth*; the place where men and women, according to their capacity and desire, are caught up into the adoring worship of the redeemed cosmos; where dogmas are no barren abstractions but hymns of exulting praise, and the saving acts of the divine compassion — the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day and the ascension into the heavenly places — are made present and actual through the operation of the Holy Spirit who "ever was, and is and shall be; having neither beginning nor ending, but for ever joined to and numbered with the Father and the Son...through whom the Father is known, and the Son is glorified, and by all acknowledged, one power, one worship and one order of the Holy Trinity."³³

St. Symeon of Thessalonika, with Nicolae Iorga of *Byzance après Byzance*,³⁴ would doubtless agree.

Rt. Rev. Archimandrite Robert F. Taft, SJ, FBA
Professor Emeritus of Oriental Liturgy
At the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome

32 Peter Hammond, *The Waters of Marah. The Present State of the Greek Church* (London, 1956) 21–22, citing Paul Rycaut (1628–1700), who was the British consul at Smyrna in 1667–1678 when he researched his *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (1679).

33 Hammond 16.

34 See note 18 above.

Introduction

In the world of Eastern Christian studies it has long been established that the last liturgical commentator of Byzantium was St. Symeon of Thessalonika. As such, St. Symeon was the heir to a venerable Byzantine tradition that began with the *Mystagogy* of St. Maximos the Confessor (580–662) and included the well-known works of St. Germanos and Nicholas Cabasilas.¹

Scholars and theologians have been aware of Symeon's name and his commentaries for some time, although little information was available about the man himself. The first of his two commentaries on the Divine Liturgy, *Ἑρμηνεία περὶ τοῦ θείου ναοῦ* (*Explanation of the Divine Temple*),² was initially published in Goar's famous liturgical compendium, *Εὐχολόγιον*, in 1647.³ Then in 1683, at Iași in Moldavia, J. Molivdos, under the patronage of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, published E, together with the lengthy dialogue including his second commentary on

1 Maximos Confessor, *Μυσταγωγία περὶ τοῦ τινῶν σύμβολα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῆς συνάξεως τελουμένα καθεστήκε* (The Church's mystagogy in which are explained the symbolism of certain rites performed in the divine synaxis) in PG 91:657–717; English trans. by G.C. Berthold in *Selected Writings*, 181–225 (New York, 1985); Germanos of Constantinople, *Ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ μυστικὴ θεωρία* (Ecclesiastical history and mystical contemplation) in *On the Divine Liturgy* (Crestwood, NY, 1984); Nicholas Cabasilas, *Εἰς τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν* in *Explication de la divine liturgie*, ed. by René Bornert, Jean Gouillard, and Pierre Périchon, trans. by Séverien Salaville (Paris, 1967); also in PG 150:368–492; Eng. trans. *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* by Joan M. Hussey and P.A. McNulty (London, 1960; reprinted, Crestwood, NY, 1977); and Cabasilas, *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ζωῆς* in PG 150:493–726; Eng. trans. *The Life in Christ* by Carmino J. de Catanzaro (Crestwood, NY, 1974). On the tradition of the commentaries, see Bornert, *Commentaires* and Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy*.

2 Hereafter referred to as E.

3 Jacques Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum &c. cuilibet personae, statui vel tempori congruos, juxta usum orientalis ecclesiae...* (Paris, 1647; Venice, 1730; reprinted, Graz, 1960) 179–194.

the eucharist, "Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας" ("On the Sacred Liturgy"),⁴ and five other works, which until recently constituted the known works of Symeon.⁵ These works were republished *tantum quantum* by Migne as volume 155 of the *Patrologia Graeca*, accompanied by a faulty Latin translation "... of which one can scarcely be too suspicious."⁶

Our knowledge of Symeon and his writings took an enormous leap forward with the publications of David Balfour.⁷ Particularly Balfour's *Politico-historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica* (1416/17 to 1429) provided valuable insight and gave us a much clearer vision of the man behind the writings. Both the unedited texts that Balfour published there and in his book on the theological works, together with his meticulous background research into the period, provide a much better understanding of Symeon's period and of his place within it. Balfour's study of the manuscripts demonstrated that one previously known anonymous work, *Ανωνύμου κατὰ Λατίνων* (Anonymous against the Latins),⁸ in fact is Symeon's *Ἐπιστολὴ δογματικὴ τε ἅμα καὶ παραινετικὴ πρὸς τινα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ὀρθοδόξων, ἀντιποιοῦμενον τοῦ κατὰ διδασκαλίαν ὀρθοῦ λόγου* (Dogmatic and admonitory letter to a certain person among the Orthodox in Crete, who opposes the orthodox teachings).⁹

4 Hereafter referred to as L.

5 *Κατὰ αἱρέσεων καὶ τῆς μονῆς ὀρθῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως, τῶν τε ἱερῶν τελετῶν καὶ μυστηρίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας διάλογος...*, Συμεὼν τοῦ μακαρίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης (Dialogue against Heresies and on the One True Faith of Christians and on the Sacred Sacraments and Mysteries of the Church... of Symeon the Blessed Archbishop of Thessalonika; Iași, 1683).

6 "... dont on ne saurait trop se défier..." Martin Jugie, "Syméon de Thessalonique," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1941) 14:2976-2984.

7 "Συμπληρωματικὸς κατάλογος χειρογράφων περιεχόντων τὰ γνωστὰ ἔργα τοῦ Συμεὼν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης" (Complete catalog of manuscripts containing the known works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonika), *Κληρονομία* 6:1 (1974) 133-144; *Politico-historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica* (1416/17 to 1429) (Vienna, 1979), hereafter PHW; *Ἔργα θεολογικά, Ἁγίου Συμεὼν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης* (1416/17-1429) (Theological works of St. Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonika, 1416/76-1429; Thessalonika, 1981), hereafter ThW; "St. Symeon of Thessalonica: A Polemical Hesychast," *Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review* 4:1 (1982) 6-21; "St. Symeon of Thessalonike as a Historical Personality," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 28:1 (1983) 55-72; "New Data on the Late Byzantine Saint, Symeon of Thessalonika," *Macedonian Studies* 6:3 (1989) 40-48.

8 *Ἰν Τόμος Ἀγάπης κατὰ Λατίνων* (Book of love against the Latins), published by Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem (1698, no page numbers).

9 For this letter, see ThW 199-219.

As the work for my doctoral dissertation in the middle 1990s proceeded on the Divine Liturgy as reported in Symeon's commentaries, problems emerged in connection with the PG text. Further investigation revealed that inconsistencies and problems, especially concerning the chapter divisions and titles, were to be found throughout the commentaries. Balfour had discovered and carefully studied the manuscript Zagora 23, which contains nearly the whole of the two commentaries I was working on. That manuscript was almost certainly produced in the archbishop's lifetime and contains many corrections and additions apparently supplied by the author himself. Photocopies of this manuscript provided by the library in Zagora, Greece made clear that, despite lacunae in E, the manuscript is far superior to the PG text.

With the generous help of Dr. Charalambos Dendrinis of the Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway College, University of London, I was able to visit the village of Zagora on Mt. Pêlion and to examine that manuscript first hand in April 1996. Not only did Dr. Dendrinis arrange all aspects of the trip, including the location of useful books, providing a car, driving from Athens to Zagora, and serving as my modern Greek interpreter, but his paleographic expertise was indispensable in deciphering many of the minute marginal notes. Since that time, he has again and again provided invaluable assistance on the preparation of both text and translation. He has proofread the entire manuscript of this edition, including the Greek text, several times. I am also grateful to Mr. Constantine Grivas, who accompanied us and drove us from Zagora back to Athens.

Two other scholars have provided invaluable assistance. The research on both my licentiate thesis and my doctoral dissertation was directed by my mentor, friend, and eminent colleague, Archimandrite Robert Taft, SJ, also of the Oriental Institute, who has honored me with the foreword to this edition. Far more than many introductory pieces, the foreword is a substantial piece of scholarship. It establishes a historical and theological framework, within which to locate Symeon's commentaries. Fr. Taft's assistance and encouragement at every stage made this work possible. He has supported me and encouraged me endlessly. I count myself particularly fortunate to have been able to profit from his brotherly support, academic expertise, and encyclopedic knowledge of the Christian East.

Another friend and colleague, Prof. Elena Velkovska, substantially improved the Greek text by a painstaking proofreading of the Greek and by many useful suggestions about the introductory chapters. She made many suggestions about needed cross-references, in addition to her meticulous analysis of the accents, breathings, spelling, and punctuation of the Greek text. It would be hard to overstate how much she improved

the Greek text and the accompanying footnotes. Her husband, Prof. Stefano Parenti, also offered many valuable suggestions.

This book would certainly never have seen the light of day without the help of Fr. Taft, Dr. Dendrinis, and Prof. Velkovska, and it has profited at every stage from their help.

Many others have offered much appreciated assistance in the preparation of this book, beginning with Fr. Miguel Arranz, SJ († 2008) of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, who as my professor first suggested that St. Symeon might be a worthy subject of research. Prof. Jeffrey Michael Featherstone provided invaluable assistance in the beginning stages of my work and again in the spring of 2005 helped me go over some of the more challenging marginalia one last time. Fr. James Swetnam, SJ of the Pontifical Biblical Institute and Fr. John Welch, SJ († 2002) of the Collegio Bellarmino both read the Greek text and offered many helpful corrections. While working on her own doctorate, Sister Vassa Larin also assisted me with advice, and indicated sources I had overlooked, especially with regard to the descent to the West (E 43, L 23–24, L 120). Dr. Antonella Rosa reviewed and significantly improved the translation at a number of points. Rev. Dr. Stelyios Muksuris also helped considerably, first on textual questions in L 55 and L 113, and then with the translation. Dr. Jean Hoff of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto dramatically improved the quality of the translation by her painstaking comparison of the Greek and English texts; she noted a number of mistakes and offered dozens of improvements. Finally, Prof. John Lindsay-Opie helped with stylistic modifications of the accompanying commentary.

I am very grateful to them all for their assistance. Obviously the flaws that remain are solely my responsibility.

St. Symeon of Thessalonika

Overall Knowledge about Symeon

Precise biographical data concerning St. Symeon of Thessalonika is limited. He was born in the fourteenth century in Constantinople, and was nominated archbishop of Thessalonika in 1416 or 1417. On 8 June 1422 he slipped out of Thessalonika bound for Constantinople. Arriving at Mt. Athos he was persuaded, however, to return to Thessalonika a few days later. He died in 1429, probably in September. Symeon of Thessalonika was canonized as a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church in 1981. Of these basic facts, there is no reasonable doubt. Many other questions about his life are less clear. One must reason from disparate data to find solutions to those questions, and sometimes only tentative conclusions are possible.

We do not know with any certainty when Symeon was born. The informal tone of Symeon's letter to Makarios Makrês suggests that the archbishop and Makrês, who was born in 1391,¹⁰ may have been contemporaries, separated by no more than ten years. If so, then Symeon would not have been born before 1381. The archbishopric of Thessalonika was a major ecclesiastical appointment, even in the waning days of the Byzantine Empire, so it is hardly conceivable that a very young man would be appointed to the post. If one considers thirty years of age a likely minimum for the position, Symeon would have been born in 1387 or earlier. So the probable date would fall between 1381 and 1387.

If our hypothesis is correct, Symeon would have been between 42 and 48 years of age at the time of his death in 1429. On the face of it, death at such an early age may seem improbable to a contemporary reader; however, his many references to frequent and severe illnesses suggest that Symeon may not have had a long life. Normal life expectancy was in any case much shorter in the fifteenth century than today.¹¹

Prior to His Arrival in Thessalonika

Nothing is known of Symeon's family and we can glean little regarding his life prior to his appointment in Thessalonika. Clearly, he had an education, since his Greek is correct and reasonably clear, but does not imitate classical authors.¹² Given his frequent illnesses and the demands of his office, his considerable literary output suggests that writing must have come fairly easily to him. Especially the opening passages of *Ερμηνεία περὶ τοῦ θείου ναοῦ* (*Explanation of the Divine Temple* = E) and "Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας" ("On the Sacred Liturgy" = L) are carefully crafted and indicate an author conscious of style and aware of the expressive capacities of the language employed. He acquired familiarity with the fathers and church history, but the evidence does not indicate an interest in either the natural sciences or philosophy as such. Along the way, however, he did take on a good deal of Neoplatonism via Pseudo-Dionysios, whom he seems to have studied in some depth, and for whom he had a great affection. He certainly quotes the author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* far more than any other author.

10 *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiogenzeit*, ed. by Erich Trapp (Vienna, 1976-1996) 7:41-42.

11 Cf. ODB 1226.

12 Balfour, "Polemical Hesychast" 8-9; cf. also Balfour, "Historical Personality," and Balfour, "New Data."

At some point, possibly while still very young, Symeon became a monk. He seems to have taken the name *Symeon* in honor of the tenth-century hymnographer and hagiographer St. Symeon Metaphrastes († ca. 1000). He was a hieromonk (priest-monk) and possibly also a *pneumatikos* (spiritual father) when he was chosen to be archbishop.¹³ The fact that he expressly recommends the priest-monk to lead a morally exemplary life so that he may be able to celebrate the Divine Liturgy every day,¹⁴ suggests that he may well have done so during his own monastic life. Years later Patriarch Gennadios II remembered Symeon and speaks of him as a man noted for his preaching and holiness.¹⁵

We have no documentation regarding which monastery Symeon joined in Constantinople. On the basis of one of his letters,¹⁶ it is possible that Symeon was a member of the monastery of the Xanthopouloi,¹⁷ named for the two brothers who founded it, whose rule made its way into various editions of the famous Hesychastic anthology, the *Philokalia*.¹⁸ Looking back, Symeon reflected on his life in the monastery: "I enjoyed a quiet life owing to the great weakness of my constitution, living without cares, reaping by God's mercy more than I deserved of the benefits of a life of relaxation in my native place."¹⁹

Archbishop of Thessalonika

Symeon arrived in Thessalonika at some point between May 1416 and April 1417.²⁰ On the hypothetical basis laid out above, he would have

13 Balfour, "Polemical Hesychast" 9.

14 PG 155:972C.

15 Geōrgios ho Scholarios, *Ἀπαντα τὰ εὕρισκόμενα* (All known works), ed. by L. Petit, X. Siderides, and M. Jugie (Paris, 1928–1937) I, 506; cf. Balfour, "Polemical Hesychast" 9.

16 PHW 91–93.

17 PHW 279–286; cf. Balfour, "Polemical Hesychast" 9–11.

18 Venice, 1782, Athens, 1976, but not in the 1979–1984 Eng. trans. of Palmer, Sherard, and Ware.

19 *Ὁμιλία τε καὶ ἀπολογία ἐν τῷ ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς Κωνσταντινούπολιν αὐτόν, ὅτε καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἀπελθὼν, τῆς τῶν ἀθέων Ἀγαρηῶν ἐπιδρομῆς γενομένης, ἐπανῆλθε πάλιν, ἀποστείλαντος γράμματα τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου δεσπότη, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει θείων ἀνδρῶν συμβουλευσαμένων διὰ τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ὀφειλὴν* (Oration and apologia for his departure for Constantinople, when reaching as far as the Holy Mountain, at the time of the attack of the godless Muslims, he came back, having sent letters to the most honorable despot, having been advised by the godly men on the Holy Mountain through obedience in Christ to do so) PHW 72; trans. in Balfour, "Polemical Hesychast" 10.

20 PHW 137.

been between thirty and thirty-six years of age. It is not surprising that a man in his thirties who had spent much of his life in an especially fervent monastery might not be prepared for the complex personal and political challenges of being archbishop of the second largest city in the empire. Indeed, he seems to have encountered trouble soon after he arrived. These early difficulties may have been connected with a letter sent to the bishops under him, urging obedience and repentance, which Balfour conjectures must have been drawn up by Symeon shortly after arriving.²¹ If so, such a letter appearing so hard on the heels of his arrival quite likely made those in the archdiocese feel that they were being criticized and chastised by a new archbishop who scarcely knew them. Symeon was rarely timid about criticizing those whom he felt needed correction. In both the canonical and the civil courts over which he had jurisdiction, he was seen as inflexible, and his attempts at resolving political divisions in the city apparently failed and only alienated the populace.²²

In speaking of himself, Symeon often refers to being ill during his time in Thessalonika. He seems almost never to have been entirely healthy, but only to have enjoyed periods when he was less indisposed. Balfour suggests that the pressures were simply more than the archbishop could stand.²³ Symeon was archbishop for only twelve years: if his references to his physical troubles are not exaggerated, then he was seriously ill for over half of his episcopacy.²⁴

On 8 June 1422, Symeon quietly departed from Thessalonika. His intention was to reach Constantinople and urge the emperor to send the military assistance necessary to keep the city under imperial jurisdiction. He was aware that many in Thessalonika wished to surrender peacefully to the Ottomans and spare themselves the retribution the Turks habitually visited on cities which forcefully resisted capture.²⁵ He also knew of plans to submit Thessalonika to Venice. Since Symeon clearly considered both solutions unacceptable, he took steps to secure the only alternative acceptable to him. Evidently he was convinced that

21 *Επιστολή πεμφθεῖσα πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ Κίτρονς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἁγίαις ἐπισκοπαῖς εὐσεβέσιν* (Letter sent to all the pious in the diocese of Kitros and to all other holy, pious dioceses throughout Thessaly) *ThW* 160–170; cf. Balfour, “Polemical Hesychast” 12.

22 *PHW* 74.

23 Balfour, “Polemical Hesychast” 12.

24 *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις μέγιστον ἀθλητὴν καὶ μυροβλύτην Δημήτριον, ἐν ἱστορίας τύπῳ τὰ νεωστὶ αὐτοῦ γεγονότα διηγουόμενος θαύματα* (Oration on the greatest athlete among the saints, the myrrh-giver Demetrios, presented as a history of the recent miracles wrought by him) 7.1, *PHW* 53–54.

25 *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις μέγιστον...* (Oration on the greatest athlete...) 8.1, *PHW* 55–56; cf. 157–159.

Constantinople possessed the needed military resources and also that it could spare them for the defense of Thessalonika. Although Symeon does not explicitly say so, Balfour suggests that the archbishop may well have had no intention of returning. He may have thought he could persuade the imperial authorities in Constantinople to appoint a successor to his post in Thessalonika.²⁶

Symeon could hardly have chosen a less propitious moment: Sultan Murad II was already moving to besiege the city as Symeon was leaving. The archbishop narrowly escaped capture and reached Mt. Athos. There the monks convinced him that a bishop's place is in his city and that, particularly in time of peril, he could not desert Thessalonika. He also received a letter from the Despot Andronikos, who had initially agreed to his mission, asking Symeon to return to Thessalonika. Obediently Symeon returned to the city, and from then on the citizens of Thessalonika carefully watched him to ensure that he did not leave the city again.²⁷

Later Years

After Symeon's return, with the city under siege, the pressure to surrender to the Turks mounted, but the archbishop struggled against such a possibility with all his might. The people of Thessalonika seem to have understood much better than Symeon that their military situation was hopeless. They had lived under the Turks from 1387 to 1403, and had not found the situation altogether intolerable. For obvious reasons they wanted to spare themselves the destruction and suffering that would accompany a military conquest of the city. Symeon faced a very difficult situation. People not only disagreed strenuously with the archbishop, but they made their feelings known in noisy, and possibly even violent, confrontations with Symeon.²⁸

In this situation, negotiations were begun with Venice.²⁹ Given his intense dislike of the Latins, Symeon strenuously resisted submitting to Venice. Having lost that argument, after a moment's reflection he became once again engaged in the negotiations; this time on behalf of the Church's independence. Finally in September 1423 the Despot Andronikos handed Thessalonika over to Venice, with the permission of Emperor Manuel II, his father. It was a bitter pill for Symeon to swallow. To his credit, Symeon managed to cooperate with the Venetian authori-

26 Balfour, "Polemical Hesychast" 14.

27 *PHW* 152–157.

28 *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις μέγιστον...* (Oration on the greatest athlete...) 8.1, *PHW* 55–56.

29 *PHW* 170, note 181.

ties sufficiently to receive the distinction *Fidelissimus Noster*.³⁰ It is likely that during the six years of Venetian domination Symeon wrote his long *Dialogue*, which contains bitter denunciations of the Latins and their forms of worship. L in the present edition constitutes one part of that long work.

It was at one time believed that Symeon had dedicated a chapel in the Monastery of St. Paul on Mt. Athos in 1425.³¹ Balfour's careful analysis of the evidence demonstrates that the Athonite inscription supposedly documenting the visit by Symeon is in reality a forgery.³² Given the situation in Thessalonika after Symeon's departure in 1422, it is in any case most unlikely that he would have been allowed to go to Athos three years later.

Symeon's Death and Canonization

Symeon appears to have died in September 1429, about six months before Thessalonika fell to the Turks in the military assault of 29 March 1430.³³ As Balfour concludes, Symeon may well have not been remembered with much affection after the fall of the city and its pillaging for three successive days. The surviving inhabitants were all reduced to slavery or held for ransom. It seems to have been chiefly Symeon who had insisted that the Turks be resisted at all costs. The city had followed Symeon's advice and paid an enormous price for its decision. It is not surprising that there was no move to canonize him in the years immediately after his death.³⁴

Five and a half centuries later, however, Symeon's life and work were re-examined by the Greek Orthodox Church. After the unanimous decision by the Holy Synods of the Church of Greece in Athens and of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, he was officially proclaimed a saint in Thessalonika on 3 May 1981.³⁵

The Commentaries

Symeon as Commentator

Symeon commented at great length on the various church services of his time, describing the rites in painstaking detail. At times, it almost seems

30 Balfour, "Polemical Hesychast" 14.

31 Cf. Jugie 2977 and Bornert 246.

32 PHW 259-265.

33 Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *A History of Thessaloniki*, trans. by T.F. Carney (Thessalonika, 1963) 62-70.

34 PHW 241-243 and Balfour, "Polemical Hesychast" 15.

35 Balfour, "Polemical Hesychast" 6.

as if he were writing for a reader totally unacquainted with the liturgy in question. However, it is more likely that this concern for detail was the result of a preoccupation to have the services maintained in exactly the form he knew. Such would seem a probable motivation particularly with regard to E, which was sent to Crete, at that time under Venetian control and its Byzantine liturgical usages likely threatened by the presence of the Latin church on the island.³⁶

Symeon's detailed description of the prothesis in L essentially constitutes a *diataxis* (διάταξις), or directory, for that preparatory section of the Divine Liturgy. In the development of the prothesis ritual concerning the bread and wine for the liturgy, during the first centuries of the second millennium, a flowering of what might be called "diataxal" literature took place. Some *diataxeis* (διατάξεις, plural of διάταξις) bear that title, while other similar rubrical texts such as the letter of Metropolitan Elias to his church in Crete prescribe how the services, above all the prothesis, are to be carried out.³⁷ Some *diataxeis* dealt exclusively with the prothesis.³⁸ Marco Mandalà already discussed this point over half a century ago³⁹ and Robert Taft provided a more thorough description in his considerations of the later liturgical developments on Mt. Athos.⁴⁰ All this attention to the prothesis clearly indicates rapid, perhaps chaotic, liturgical growth in need of regulation. For example, Symeon condemns the earlier usages of Thessalonika in which a deacon performed much of the prothesis without a priest (L 100, 115–116). He also remarks that such practices continued on Mt. Athos. Here and elsewhere Symeon often insists that this or that practice be observed. His obvious intention was to prescribe how the rite be performed. Consequently, these works have an unmistakable "diataxal" side, even if they lack the title *diataxis*.

Because of Symeon's dedication to detail, his failure to mention a given item in the vesting and prothesis stage of the liturgy strongly suggests that it did not exist in his time. Although the argument from silence is always the weakest, the descriptions that we do find in Symeon leave us on much surer ground than those in other liturgical documents.

36 Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (2nd ed. Cambridge, 1993) 335–336; George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, revised ed., trans. by Joan M. Hussey (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969) 560.

37 V. Laurent, "Le rituel de la proscomidie et le métropolite de Crète Élie," *REB* 16 (1958) 116–142.

38 Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 440–444.

39 Marco Mandalà, *La protesi della liturgia nel rito bizantino-greco* (Grottaferrata, 1935) 97, 133–147.

40 Robert F. Taft, "Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the 'Byzantine Rite,'" *DOP* 42 (1988) 192–194.

Before proceeding to the liturgy according to Symeon, a few cautions are in order. First, Symeon does not always mention things in the order in which they occur. His method at times may remind us of a "stream-of-consciousness" narrative, in which elements are related as they occur in the narrator's mind. For example, while discussing the creed, Symeon suddenly breaks off to consider the order of those approaching to receive communion (L 139–140). Then he returns to the discussion of how the liturgical acts and prayers succeed one another: the kiss of peace, the anaphora, the Lord's Prayer, the elevation, and the fraction (L 141–151). Arriving at communion, he once again returns to the question of the order of communicants (L 152–156). This divergence from the expected order is worse in L than in E, as a glance at the Outline of the Commentaries will show.

Second, one of Symeon's major preoccupations is that of rank and subordination.⁴¹ Discussions in E 25, L 99, L 115–116, L 117, L 129, L 139, and L 154–156 make clear that this is a major concern of his, especially in the later commentary, L. He is concerned that all those involved in any way in the liturgy behave in a manner that correctly manifests the hierarchical church structure. Consequently, his description of liturgical action often focuses on aspects revealing rank and hierarchy. Given Symeon's attention to questions of this nature, it seems likely that there were considerable problems in his day concerning ecclesiastical roles and functions, although what these problems might have been is not always entirely clear from the commentaries. It is interesting that, given his preoccupation with the subject, the term ὑποταγή (subordination) only occurs twice in one section (L 25) of these two commentaries.

Like any author discussing the correct way something should be done, Symeon focuses most of his attention on what he considered abuses, such as deacons performing the prothesis, a practice known to him, which he felt should be eliminated.⁴² When Symeon specifically forbids a practice, one may be sure that it did in fact occur. Whether his prohibitions succeeded in ending the "abuse" is almost impossible to determine, given the meager documentation available.

The mystagogy of Symeon's commentaries could be called *iconic*. In both the works, most of his commentary amounts to a mystagogy of separate elements. He explains what this or that object, person, or event represents, and then moves on to the next. For Symeon, each element is like a separate image or "icon," containing its own independent meaning. Understanding the liturgy for Symeon means understanding each of the separate, disparate moments that compose it.

41 Cf. Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy* 123.

42 Cf. *ibid.* 122–123.

Symeon's iconic system has both its strengths and its weaknesses. As a popular mystagogy, it is easy to grasp. Since the relationship between the liturgical elements and their meaning is quite direct, it is sufficient to know what each represents.⁴³ If a particular item is omitted, it is not disastrous, since there are so many others. The problem with Symeon's mystagogy is that most of the elements of the liturgy in their historical development are in fact organically related to other elements. If the elements are interpreted separately, their interconnection and their meaning in the celebration as a whole falls out of sight.

The Liturgy in Symeon's Commentaries

The liturgy described in both of Symeon's commentaries is a pontifical celebration, which differs from the liturgy celebrated by a priest — both today and in the fifteenth century. Differences are found throughout the liturgical celebration, with relatively minor details in the prothesis. The priestly liturgy calls for a priest and a deacon, although it is common for priests to celebrate alone; the pontifical liturgy requires instead a larger group of liturgical ministers — at least one bishop, a few priests, several deacons and subdeacons, etc.

Symeon was active in the last phase of the formation of the Byzantine eucharist. The vast majority of the development of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy comes to a close with the publication of printed liturgical texts in the sixteenth century. From that point on, the changes are both structurally insignificant and easy to trace.⁴⁴ Since Symeon lived in the century immediately preceding the first printed liturgical texts, his liturgy, as one might expect, is much like that of the present day.

The Divine Liturgy is almost always preceded immediately by preliminary preparatory rites. The preparation includes prayers on entering the church, the vesting, and the prothesis. A priest, possibly assisted by a deacon, usually performs the prothesis quietly behind the iconostasis. In Symeon's commentaries, it appears that at this time the bishop vested at his throne in the nave, and then went to wait at the western door of the church.

The most unusual observance mentioned by Symeon is certainly the bishop's "descent to the West," i.e., to the western doors of the church, after vesting and before the opening blessing. This picturesque feature appears not only in Symeon's two commentaries, but also in the four-

43 On Symeon's use of the term *μυσταγωγία*, see "Greek Usage of the Commentaries" below, p. 62.

44 Taft, "Athos" 193-194.

teenth-century *diataxis* of Dêmêtrios Gemistos⁴⁵ and the fifteenth-century pontifical liturgy in the Athonite St. Andrew Skete codex,⁴⁶ as Sister Vassa Larin pointed out to me in conversations in Rome.⁴⁷ From what is known regarding the history of the Byzantine liturgy, it is clear that this is a vestige of the early Byzantine practice in which everyone, clergy and laity, entered the church building at the same time: the bishop remained at the door until the beginning of the Little Entrance (cf. E 43, L 8, L 117, L 120).

The first part of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy proper is the *enarxis*. From his place just inside the western door of the church, the bishop, according to Symeon, gives a signal to the deacon, who calls on the priest in the sanctuary to give the opening blessing. After the blessing, the deacon intones an opening litany, followed by psalm compositions, the three antiphons. As the antiphons are concluding, the bishop(s), the priests, and the deacons all process forward to the central holy doors and make the Little Entrance.

Shortly after the Little Entrance and the singing of the Trisagion hymn, the second major part of the liturgy begins: the Liturgy of the Word. There are readings of the Acts or the Epistles, followed by a reading of the Gospel. At the conclusion of the readings, there is a series of petitionary litanies, including one for the catechumens and then their dismissal from church.

The Liturgy of the Eucharist begins with the Great Entrance, an elaborate procession transferring to the altar the bread and wine prepared on the prothesis. Following yet another petitionary litany and the profession of faith, one has the anaphora, the central prayer of the Divine Liturgy, of which the Byzantine churches use two formularies: the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and that of St. Basil the Great.

The lengthy and complex development of communion has resulted in a variety of usages in different churches. Most, but not all, Byzantine churches administer communion to the laity with a spoon. There is also some variety as to which pieces of bread are placed in the chalice and when. What Symeon reports is close to contemporary practice in the

45 Alexander Rentel, *The 14th Century Patriarchal Liturgical Diataxis of Dimitrios Gemistos, Edition and Commentary* (doctoral dissertation, Pontifical Oriental Institute, 2003) 192.

46 Aleksej Dmitrievskij, *Описание литургических рукописей хранившихся в библиотеках православного востока* (Description of liturgical manuscripts in libraries of the Orthodox East; Kiev and Petrograd, 1895–1917) 1:168.

47 Vassa Larin, *The Byzantine Hierarchal Divine Liturgy in Arsenij Suxanov's Proskinitarij: Text, Translation, and Analysis of the Entrance Rites*, OCA 286 (Rome, 2010) 147.

Greek Orthodox Church. Following communion, there are prayers of thanksgiving, final blessings, and dismissal.⁴⁸

Another important difference between the liturgy celebrated in fifteenth-century Thessalonika and the modern Byzantine liturgy is the practice regarding the doors of the sanctuary. In these commentaries, Symeon refers to opening and closing the doors during the pontifical Divine Liturgy (E 49, L 125, L 137–138). In most contemporary practice, the doors remain open for the entire pontifical service until shortly before communion. The doors are re-opened soon afterwards for the communion of minor ministers and the laity, and they remain open until the end of the Divine Liturgy.

A New Edition and Translation

Why produce a new edition and translation of E and L? No translation of the works exists in English, while the PG Latin translation of both texts is highly unreliable. Translations have appeared in other languages. A Church Slavonic edition of the seven known works of Symeon, said to be based on a seventeenth-century manuscript, was published in Moscow in 1894.⁴⁹ In the same city, an anonymous Russian one was published in 1916, which is reasonably accurate.⁵⁰ A modern Greek translation (1882, reprint 1993)⁵¹ and a Romanian translation in a hybrid Latin-Cyrillic script of the “classi-

48 Robert F. Taft, *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites* (History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, vol. VI) OCA 281 (2008).

49 Блаженнейшаго архиепископа Фессалоникийскаго Симеона. Разглагольство в Христе на вся ереси, и о единой вере Господа и Бога и Спаса нашего Иисуса Христа, и о священных службах же и Таинствах всех церковных, ничтоже свое собственное имеюще, но от святых писаний и отцев собранное им и сложеное по силе, ответы дающе коемуждо по времени вопросивших (Of the Most Blessed Archbishop of Thessalonika Symeon. Dialogue in Christ against all heresies, and about the one faith of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, and about the Sacred Services and all Sacraments of the Church, and no element formulated on his own, but gathered by him from Holy Scripture and the Fathers and assembled as best we could, answers given to each of the questions sometimes asked <of him> = title of *Ο Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ...*), trans. by Evfimii Čudovskii (Moscow, 1894).

50 Труды Блаженного Симеона Архиепископа Фессалоникийскаго (Works of Blessed Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonika; Moscow, 1916).

51 *Τὰ Ἀπαντα Συμεῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης* (All the works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonika; Thessalonika, 1993).

cal" seven works (1865) have been made.⁵² A Polish translation of E appeared in 2007, accompanied by a vocabulary of Greek and Slavonic liturgical terms.⁵³ A German translation of E was published in 1984.⁵⁴ The modern Greek translation reveals a number of serious defects, e.g., E 51 is simply omitted,⁵⁵ and many of the "chapters" of the PG edition are combined,⁵⁶ such as the first and second.⁵⁷ As a result, this edition of E has seventy-three chapters, not the eighty-eight of Migne and other editions based on it. The German is not wholly reliable either: the ἢ... ἢ... ("either... or...") clause in E 88–89 is misread and apparently follows the faulty Latin translation in the PG text.⁵⁸ In the first sentence of E 90, "Die Andersdenkenden sollen aber durch ihre *eigene* Liturgie widerlegt werden" appears for "Οἱ ἀνθιστάμενοι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφῶν λειτουργίας ἐξελεγχέσθωσαν," misreading the pronoun "σφῶν" (dual gen., referring to John Chrysostom and Basil the Great in the previous sentence), and once again apparently following the Latin version.⁵⁹ It is hoped that the present edition and English translation of these works, including the added notations and corrections of manuscript Zagora 23, will contribute further to the study of Symeon's liturgical commentaries, which constitute one of the most important documents belonging to the later history of the Byzantine liturgy.

In 2003 Prof. Iōannēs Fountoulis († 2008) of the University of Thessalonika published a version of L in the annual series on liturgy published by the metropolitan diocese of Drama in northeastern Greece.⁶⁰ It includes both a transcription of the text in Zagora 23 and a rather free

52 *Трактат асупра тутулор Догмелор Кредінцеї поастре ортодоксе дупь адевърателе принципие пузе де Домнулу nostru Исус Христос ши урмаши си* (Treatise on all the dogmas of our Orthodox faith, according to true principles given by our Lord Jesus Christ and His followers), trans. by Toma Teodorescu (Bucharest, 1865).

53 *O Świątyni Bożej* (On the temple of God), trans. and intro. by Anna Maciejewska (Cracow, 2007).

54 *Über die göttliche Mystagogie: eine Liturgieerklärung aus spätbyzantinischer Zeit / Symeon von Thessaloniki*, intro. and trans. by Wolfram and Klaus Gamber (Regensburg, 1984).

55 Ἀπαντα Συμεῶν 326.

56 Regarding the "chapter" divisions in PG, see "The Chapter Titles" below, pp. 59–61.

57 Ἀπαντα Συμεῶν 315–317.

58 *Über die göttliche Mystagogie* 41.

59 Ibid.

60 "Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας" ("On the Sacred Liturgy") in *Ἡ Θεία εὐχαριστία. Εἰσηγήσεις, πορίσματα, ἱερατικοῦ συνέδριον τῆς ἱερᾶς μητροπόλεως Δράμας* (The Divine Eucharist. Proceedings, conclusions of the priestly assembly of the Holy Metropolitan Diocese of Drama), ed. and modern Greek trans. by Iōannēs M. Fountoulis (Drama, 2003) 194–371.

translation into modern Greek. There are, however, errors to be corrected in the Fountoulis edition, such as the opening lines of L 16, where Fountoulis follows the obviously mistaken reading of PG, instead of the corrected text in Zagora 23.

Since Symeon's two commentaries on the Byzantine Divine Liturgy, E and L, complement each other, it is preferable to have them both in a single volume, with cross-references between them. The two commentaries likewise call for more extensive introductory materials. Furthermore, the division of the text into shorter reference sections makes the present edition easier to use. Topical headings added to Symeon's text indicate which subjects are being discussed, making it easier to find what Symeon's commentaries say about the various sections of the Divine Liturgy. For purposes of scholarly reference, the present edition includes the PG column numbers, since nearly all scholarship dealing with Symeon's works up to the present has referred to the PG edition.

The present edition incorporates all of the corrections and additions of manuscript Zagora 23 (absent from PG) into the text as the preferred reading. One of the most important additions is the lengthy marginal text on folia 34 and 35, recto and verso (L 93–103), written in a tiny, nearly illegible script on the darkened edges of the manuscript. Fountoulis' edition clarifies some of these more obscure passages. Our Greek text generally coincides with Fountoulis in these sections, except when noted otherwise.

Ἑρμηνεία περὶ τοῦ θείου ναοῦ — *Explanation of the Divine Temple (E)*

E is chronologically the earlier of the two commentaries. This is clear from the references to it in L, the second and later commentary. Indeed it may have been composed — at least in part — prior to Symeon's election as archbishop of Thessalonika. The work consists of a lengthy symbolic explanation of the pontifical eucharistic liturgy and deals with the whole liturgy, except for the preparatory rites, which are, however, mentioned briefly in sections 106–109. As opposed to the later commentary, it is a complete and independent work. It is not known exactly what circumstances may have occasioned the treatise or precisely to whom it was destined. In the lengthy title (E 1), Symeon informs us only that it is "sent to pious men in Crete, who have requested it."

“Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας” — *“On the Sacred Liturgy” (L)*

The later commentary is only one section of a very long work (PG 155:33–636), Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ (Dialogue in Christ), which, as noted, also refers to E (L 5 and L 117). This long “dialogue” begins with an anti-heretical discussion (PG 155:33–176), and then proceeds to

discuss the mysteries (sacraments) and rites of the Greek Church as Symeon knew them (PG 155:176–636). Like the rest of the work, the discussion “On the Sacred Liturgy” is superficially constructed as a dialogue, but the dialogic elements are very few, i.e. in the opening paragraph of the discussion of the liturgy, the archbishop addresses his interlocutor(s) and a cleric speaks briefly only twice (sections 61 and 164).

In sections 48–50 and 55–57, in which the Latin mass is rejected, Symeon addresses an anonymous opponent in particularly violent and strident tones. Who is the unnamed enemy? Clearly, not the compliant cleric of the dialogue who agrees with everything Symeon says. Lacking other information, he would seem to be a Greek who was willing to participate in the Latin mass and receive communion from the Latins, or possibly even a Roman Catholic priest (cf. L 57).

The Theology of the Commentaries

Basic Lines of Symeon's Theology

Even the most generous consideration must conclude that Symeon of Thessalonika was not a particularly creative theologian, a point Symeon himself emphasizes. As Symeon reveals, he is an adherent of the hesychastic movement, in its late Byzantine Palamistic form.⁶¹ In L 147–148, one can see unmistakable lines of such thinking and other echoes of Palamism in E 6 and E 8.

Symeon was a man of strongly held convictions, tending to describe things in absolute terms. He was totally dedicated to the cause of εὐσέβεια (piety), by which he means Orthodoxy. For him, Orthodoxy called for being under an Orthodox government, that is to say, under the Christian emperor of Constantinople. Christians living under the Turks needed to profess their faith publicly and enthusiastically, in ways that Symeon himself recognized would be clearly courting martyrdom.⁶²

61 Michael Kunzler's exhaustive evaluation of Symeon's hesychasm is certainly the most complete and balanced study of Symeon's theology: Michael Kunzler, *Gnadenquellen: Symeon von Thessaloniki (†1429) als Beispiel für die Einflußnahme des Palamismus auf die orthodoxe Sakramententheologie und Liturgik*, Trierer Theologischen Studien 47 (Trier, 1989).

62 Ἐπιστολή πρότερον μὲν γραφεῖσα εἰς στηριγμὸν εὐσεβείας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ πιστοὺς, τοὺς κατὰ Καισάρειαν καὶ Ἄγκυραν, διὰ τινος διακόνου ζητήσαντος, ὕστερον δὲ πλατυνθεῖσα μικρόν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἐκδοθεῖσα (Letter written at first for the support of piety to the faithful in the East, both in Caesarea and Ankara, requested by a certain deacon, and later expanded a little and passed on to those in the area of Thessaly), *ThW* 111–137.

An example of Symeon's vision of faith and life can be seen in his lengthy *Miracles of St. Demetrius*. Symeon makes clear that the economic, political, and military setbacks experienced by Thessalonika are direct results of the lack of devotion of the Thessalonians, and that the return of peace and prosperity depends on the religious conduct of the citizens of the city, the intercession of St. Demetrius, and divine intervention. In two pastoral letters to the people of Thessalonika,⁶³ he calls on them and "the faithful everywhere" to resist the Turks to the death, and he threatens with anathemas and curses anyone who would negotiate for the peaceful transfer of power to the Turks. Such a surrender to him is nothing but clear and simple apostasy from the Christian faith. If nothing else, the very violence of his exhortation makes quite clear that his ideas were far from universally accepted. Many in the city wanted to surrender quietly and avoid the destruction that the Turks visited on cities which had to be conquered by force. Symeon was involved in an unending struggle with such people.

A central concept in Symeon's theology is that of fixity and stability. The Christian faith and its expressions are received once for all, and they are maintained entirely intact by the Orthodox. Others, such as the Latins and the Armenians, have introduced innovations, abandoning the authentic Christian tradition. As Symeon puts it,

For we propose nothing newer than what is handed down by tradition, nor have we changed what we received; rather, we have preserved it as <we have> the profession of faith. Therefore, as handed down by the Savior Himself, by the apostles and by the fathers, so also we perform the sacred-service. As the Lord did the sacred-service with the disciples, breaking the bread, giving it to them along with the chalice, so the Church also does, when the hierarch does the sacred-service with the priests, or a priest with others, and distributes it to all (E 11).

In Symeon's commentaries on the liturgy, one can point to only one instance when he admits that a practice unknown in Constantinople is acceptable and to a single instance in which he accepts that a Byzantine liturgical practice has changed. In referring to the Alexandrian custom of celebrating parts of the sacred-service with the head covered, Symeon

63 Συμβουλία καὶ εὐχὴ τοῖς ἱσταμένοις πιστῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίως ἔχουσιν ἐπιτίμησις (Advice and prayer for those having taken a faithful stand for their country, and censure of those holding a contrary position), PHW 83–87 and Συμβουλία ὁμοίως περὶ τοῦ ἱστασθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ κατὰ τῶν φρονούντων τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐπιτίμησις (Advice likewise on taking a stand for Christ for one's country, and censure against those taking the side of the impious), PHW 88–90.

admits that this is an ancient custom in that church. Symeon sees this custom as acceptable, but it would be far better if the Alexandrians celebrated with the head uncovered as the Byzantines do (E 41–42). In dealing with the distribution of communion in the Greek Church, Symeon notes that at one time, the laity received the holy bread in their hands and drank from the chalice, a practice that was subsequently abandoned “because of some incidents” (L 95).

Symeon’s conviction about the unchanging nature of the liturgy strikes a contemporary reader as strange, since modern studies show how all social and religious institutions evolve in history. In E 11 and E 12 Symeon seems to suggest that the Greek Church imitated exactly the biblical Last Supper of the Lord and the apostles by following the texts set down by St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil with a Little Entrance and a Great Entrance! Did Symeon actually believe that there had been almost no evolution or change in the liturgy? He quotes such a wide range of patristic sources (Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Pelousion, Maximos Confessor, and above all Pseudo-Dionysios) that it is hard to imagine that he saw in all these authors no signs of change in liturgical observance. He may have known these authors very slightly, possibly only through selected readings in anthologies like the various *Paterika* or the liturgical *Synaxaria* and had not studied their writings in depth. However, given the details he cites — a supposed reference to leavened communion bread in the writings of St. Gregory the Great and the banishment of Emperor Theodosios from the sanctuary by St. Ambrose — it seems likely that Symeon did, in fact, know these writings reasonably well. If so, then I must attribute his insistence on the unchangeability of the liturgy to a doctrinal conviction which prevented him from seeing any evolution in the liturgy. His fundamental argument for defending the Orthodox teachings was their exact conformity to the apostolic tradition.

In Symeon’s defense, there is one complicating factor: the identity and historical position of Pseudo-Dionysios. Symeon had no way of knowing that this anonymous fifth- or sixth-century Neoplatonic writer, one of Symeon’s favorite sources, was not Dionysios the Areopagite, an immediate disciple of St. Paul. If one views the history of Christian liturgy by placing Pseudo-Dionysios near its beginning, as any fifteenth-century Christian writer would have done, obviously enormous misunderstanding will ensue.

Symeon’s Use of Sources

In these commentaries, Symeon draws on the whole religious tradition of the Orthodox Church — sacred scripture, the liturgy, the fathers of the Church, etc. He quotes some sources very accurately, particularly liturgi-

cal texts, but others less reliably. In the pre-Gutenberg era, writers frequently had to rely on their memory of texts read, or simply heard, long before they actually cited them. Not surprisingly we find some errors in Symeon's reference to sources.

Unquestionably Symeon's favorite theological authority is Pseudo-Dionysios, whom he quotes repeatedly. It is especially interesting that Symeon does not seem to have noticed that the liturgy on which Pseudo-Dionysios commented is not the Byzantine liturgy.

Not infrequently Symeon makes very general references to ancient writers as authorities on liturgy. In E 12–14 among others he lists St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, St. Isidore of Pelousion (c. 360–c. 435), and St. Maximos the Confessor (c. 580–662) as sources for how the liturgy should be celebrated. By Basil and Chrysostom, he means the two liturgical formularies of the Byzantine liturgy in his time, as today. Maximos is the author of the first commentary on the Byzantine liturgy.⁶⁴

The inclusion of Isidore, an Egyptian monastic, in Symeon's list of liturgical authorities is a bit surprising, since Isidore was predominantly a spiritual and moral writer whose many letters make only occasional reference to the liturgy in passing. Isidore's letter I, 123 speaks of the symbolism of the cloth under the gifts on the altar.⁶⁵ In letter I, 136, he speaks of the meaning of the bishop's omophorion and of the deacon's orarion.⁶⁶ A quotation from this letter was added to later editions of Germanos' *Ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστική καὶ μυστική θεωρία* (usually translated as *On the Divine Liturgy*), but the text itself does not indicate the source.⁶⁷ So Symeon wouldn't have taken the idea from Germanos' commentary. Isidore's letter V, 303 deals with the appropriate offerings at the liturgy.⁶⁸ The liturgy Isidore knew in fourth- and fifth-century Egypt would have been an early form of the Coptic liturgy, but his liturgical references are so meager that it is not at all clear which liturgy he is discussing. So when Symeon says that Isidore "expounded on the order of our liturgy more clearly" (E 14), it is difficult to know what Symeon might have been referring to. It is possible that Symeon was referring to some work of Isidore now lost. More probably the archbishop was referring to some liturgical manual mistakenly attributed to Isidore of Pelousion in a manuscript.

64 Maximos, *Μυσταγωγία περὶ τοῦ τινῶν σύμβολα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῆς συνάξεως τελουμένα καθεστήκε*.

65 PG 78:264–265; cf. Taft, *Great Entrance* 245.

66 PG 78:272 CD; cf. Taft, "The Case of the Missing Vestment: The Byzantine Omophorion Great and Small," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferata*, ser. 3, 1 (2004) 278.

67 Germanos 66.

68 Isidore of Pelousion, *Lettres*, 2 vols.; ed. and French trans. by Pierre Éviéux (SC 422, 454; Paris, 1997–2000), no. 1632 (2:369; PG 78:1513 A).

Section 13 of L opens with Symeon observing that the church is not accessible to all, and that entry to the sanctuary is even more restricted. In speaking of St. Ambrose and Emperor Theodosios, Symeon states that the bishop cast the emperor out of "καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου" ("of both the church and of the sanctuary"). The mention of both the church and the sanctuary seems to refer to two separate incidents. First, Ambrose forbade Theodosios from entering the church following the massacre of innocent civilians in Thessalonika in 390 and ordered that the emperor do penance. Later Ambrose made a point of instructing the emperor to depart from the sanctuary after making his offering, unlike contemporary practice in Constantinople, in which the emperor remained in the sanctuary. Ambrose's exclusion of the emperor from the church after the massacre of Thessalonika also appears in the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarion*,⁶⁹ but that text makes no mention of the bishop's instructions about departing the sanctuary after making the offering. The most likely source would seem to be Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Ecclesiastical History*.⁷⁰

On the other hand, certainly the most obvious and notorious case of mistaken references are found in E 27–30 and L 16 and 28. Symeon here is repeating and building on the symbolism created by Pseudo-Dionysios toward the end of the sixth chapter of *Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας* (The ecclesiastical hierarchy):

Συνῆκται τοίνυν ἡμῖν, ὥς αἱ μὲν ἅγιαί τελεταὶ κάθαρσις εἰσι καὶ φωτισμὸς καὶ τελείωσις, οἱ δὲ λειτουργοὶ καθαρικὴ τάξις, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς φωτιστικὴ, τελεστικὴ δὲ οἱ θεοειδεῖς ἱεράρχαι....⁷¹

We must now sum up. The holy sacraments bring about purification, illumination, and perfection. The deacons (λειτουργοί) form the order which purifies. The priests constitute the order which gives illumination. And the hierarchs, living in conformity with God, make up the order which perfects.⁷²

69 *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae...*, ed. by Hippolyte Delehaye (Brussels, 1902) 284.

70 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by Léon Parmentier, rev. by Felix Scheidweiler (Berlin, 1954) V, 18, pp. 311–313; English trans. by B. Jackson in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1979) 3:144–145 (PG 82:1236A–1237B).

71 Pseudo-Dionysios, *Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας* (The ecclesiastical hierarchy) in *Corpus Dionysiacum* II, ed. by Günter Heil (Berlin, 1991) 119 (PG 3:536D).

72 Pseudo-Dionysios, *The Complete Works*, trans. by Colm Luibhéid (New York, 1987) 248.

In the Molivdos edition of 1683 (reprinted in PG 155), in the Goar editions of 1640 and 1730, and in the translations produced from them, Symeon has the last two reversed, calling the priests the "consecrators" (τελεστικός) and bishops the "illuminators" (φωτιστικός), confusing both the roles and the order. The deacon remains the "purifier," while Symeon modifies slightly the Dionysian descriptive for the deacon from λειτουργός to λειτουργικός. This confusion of the two latter roles is particularly notable since Symeon was especially fond of Pseudo-Dionysios.

These sections of Zagora 23 contain two readings: 1) the earlier text identical to Molivdos in a secretarial hand (marked Z¹ in the apparatus), and 2) a corrected text added to the manuscript in another hand (marked Z²), most likely that of Symeon himself.⁷³ The corrections of E 27-30 restore the Dionysian order and assignment to the respective clerical orders, but they also add short notes to tie the corrected terminology to the appropriate orders, as well as expanding the discussion of the diaconate, which was correct in the earlier text.

At other points, the references in Symeon to earlier theologians are far more problematic. In E 13, Symeon cites St. Gregory the Great (c. 540-604) on communion bread and on burial within the church building. Gregory, he says, states that the remains of an ordinary person (τοῦ τυχόντος) should not be buried in the church. According to the archbishop, Pope Gregory also said that the eucharist is celebrated with leavened bread.

Symeon's text on burial in church is not entirely clear. It does not say whose burial in church he finds unacceptable. The expression used, τοῦ τυχόντος, is the genitive singular masculine of a second aorist participle of the verb τυγχάνω, meaning "to happen to be in a place or situation" or "to be by chance in a place or situation." Consequently, the sense here is of anyone who comes along, as one might say idiomatically.⁷⁴ In the context, Symeon most likely means ordinary lay people, whose station in life would not entitle them to burial in church, unlike bishops, members of the imperial family, priests, and monks.

In book IV of his *Dialogues* Gregory has an extensive discussion of death and burial in Christian theology, including a number of historical accounts to illustrate his thoughts.⁷⁵ The manner of death and certain

73 See "Technical and Editorial Questions" below, pp. 56-58.

74 Cf. τυγχάνω, Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry S. Jones, and Roderick McKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed. with supplement; Oxford, 1968) 1832, § A.2.b.

75 Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* (ed. by Adalbert de Vogüé, French trans. by Paul Antin, SC 251, 260, 265 [Paris, 1978-1980]) 4:1-62; SC 265:18-206 (PL 77:317C-429A).

post-mortem events demonstrate for Gregory the fate of the departed. In chapter 52 he raises the question of whether it is advantageous for a Christian's body to be buried in church. His answer is first stated briefly as follows:

Quos grauia peccata non deprimunt, hoc prodest mortuis si in ecclesiis sepeliantur, quod eorum proximi, quotiens ad eadem sacra loca conueniunt, suorum, quorum sepulcra, aspiciunt, recordantur et pro eis Domino preces fundunt. Nam quos peccata grauia deprimunt, non ad absolutionem potius quam ad maiorem damnationis cumulum eorum corpora in ecclesiis pronuntur.⁷⁶

For the dead, whom grave sins do not weigh down, it is useful to be buried in church because those close to them, each time they come to holy place, see their tombs and remember to say prayers for them to the Lord. But for those who are weighed down by grave sins, their burial in a church will gain them not absolution, but rather an increase of their penalty.

Gregory then continues with a series of miraculous stories of individuals who, though unworthy, were nonetheless buried in churches. Their bodies were mysteriously expelled from their tombs and frequently showed burns and other signs of torment, indicating their sufferings in the afterlife.⁷⁷ It is interesting that for Gregory actually being buried in church can have no direct positive effect on the soul of the departed; it only serves to remind the living coming to church to pray for the deceased. However, the simple act of being buried in church can have a dramatic and disastrous negative effect on the soul.

There is a clear distinction in the views of St. Gregory the Great and St. Symeon of Thessalonika. Gregory's point is that those who are *morally* unsuitable must not be buried in churches because their unworthiness will increase their sufferings in the afterlife. This principle applies regardless of one's ecclesiastical position or social status. On the other hand, Symeon seems to have been predominantly concerned about a person's position in the church. One wonders whether Symeon possibly had difficulties with too many, presumably wealthy, lay men and women wishing to be buried in churches. Obviously available space could present problems.

Concerning the second point, it is clear that at the time of St. Gregory leavened bread was indeed used for the eucharist in the Roman Church.

⁷⁶ Gregory, *Dialogues* 4:52; SC 265:176 (PL 77:412C).

⁷⁷ Gregory, *Dialogues* 4:53-56; SC 265:178-184 (PL 77:412C-416D).

Only at a later time did unleavened bread come into use in the West. Among the fathers there is very little discussion of the bread for the eucharist, seemingly because it was ordinary bread and required no further clarification.⁷⁸ There does not seem to be any place in his extant writings where Gregory stipulates what sort of bread should be used for the mass. Nor has he left even a general observation about what sort of bread was customarily used. Occasionally the topic of bread comes up in his extant writings in references to scripture and in miracle narratives. However, none of these references deal with the type of bread in the eucharist.

So it is not clear to what Symeon might have been referring when he says that Gregory the Great held that one should celebrate the eucharist with leavened bread. Two particular episodes offer possible sources. The first is from a medieval life of St. Gregory containing an episode dealing with the bread in the eucharist. The second comes from one of the miracle narratives in Gregory's *Dialogues*.

John the Deacon of Rome († 880) wrote an extensive life of St. Gregory the Great apparently at the request of Pope John VIII († 882). In the life, we find an account of a confrontation between Gregory and an unnamed woman coming to receive communion. On hearing the communion formula, proclaiming it the body of Christ, she laughed and the pope declined to give her communion. Afterwards she explained that she recognized the bread from her own oven and it seemed strange that the very bread she had baked could now be the body of Christ. In the end, she repents and receives communion.⁷⁹ There is no clear statement that the bread in question was leavened, but the fact that it was ordinary bread indicates that it was such. It seems unlikely that Symeon knew of this story. It does not appear that John the Deacon's life of Gregory was translated into Greek. Consequently Symeon probably never heard or read it. Certainly the topic of the need to hold holy things in high reverence is a favorite theme of Symeon; had he known of the pope's reaction in this episode, he would have definitely approved!

In a miracle narrative from the *Dialogues*, St. Gregory tells of St. Martyrius coming upon a camp of men who are baking bread under the coals of a fire. They had, however, forgotten to make a cross in the dough according to their custom. Martyrius reprimands them for their neglect,

78 Reginald M. Woolley, *The Bread of the Eucharist* (London, 1913) 7–20; and Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (*Missarum Sollemnia*), trans. by Francis A. Brunner (New York, et al., 1951–1955) 1:64–65.

79 John the Deacon of Rome (Ioannes Diaconus), *Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni* 2:41; PL 75:103B–D.

but then goes over to the fire and makes a sign of the cross with his hand over the fire. A noise is heard from the fire at that moment. Later when the bread was taken out, the loaf had a cross on it as if it had been made in the wet dough beforehand.⁸⁰ To begin with, there is no clear indication either that the bread was necessarily leavened or that it was destined for use in the liturgy. Gregory wrote that this incident took place in a camp, not in a village or town. He also says nothing about a liturgical use for the bread. Consequently, the most reasonable guess would be that the bread was intended as ordinary food. Lacking any clear indication to the contrary, one should suppose that it was ordinary, that is to say leavened, bread. The fact that a sign of the cross was usually traced in the wet dough before baking reinforces this supposition; such an action would be more difficult and would risk tearing the dough were it unleavened.

If someone such as Symeon, accustomed to late medieval Byzantine usage, had heard the story about St. Martyrius, the bread with a cross on its top could certainly have seemed to be a *προσφορά*, a loaf made especially for the eucharist. Symeon would have been scandalized had someone made a *προσφορά* and forgot to put a cross on it. Consequently, if Symeon is referring to extant writings of Gregory, it appears most likely that this is the episode to which Symeon is referring when he says that Gregory "the Dialogist" (the customary title of St. Gregory of Rome in Byzantine texts) held that the eucharist should be celebrated with leavened bread.

Views on the Western Church

Understandably, born in Constantinople less than a century after the Frankish occupation (1204–1261), Symeon was vehemently anti-Latin. In his *Against the Latins* he energetically defends Orthodox hesychastic theology against Western scholasticism. Jugie sums up Symeon's attitudes fairly accurately as follows: "Every Latin usage in the sacraments, the rites, and discipline which is different from Byzantine customs is criticized and censured, at times in violent terms."⁸¹ This attitude is connected with his conviction that only the Orthodox Church has preserved the Christian tradition perfectly in all its details. If so, then what differs from Byzantine Orthodoxy must be a rejection of the true ancient tradition of the Church, "received from the Savior and the apostles" (E 11).

80 Gregory 1:11; SC 260:110–112 (PL 77:212A–B).

81 "Tout usage latin dans les sacrements, les rites et la discipline en désaccord avec la règle byzantine est blâmé, censuré quelquefois en termes violents," Jugie 2983.

In "Heresies,"⁸² the opening section of his *Dialogue*, Symeon embarks on a catalogue of the sins — doctrinal and others — of the Latins.⁸³ Their first and greatest sin is tampering with the holy (Niceno-Constantinopolitan) creed, i.e., by the addition of the *Filioque*, which Symeon sees as a repudiation of God akin to St. Peter's denial of Jesus.⁸⁴ But unlike Peter, who repented of his repudiation of Jesus, the Latins have wanted not to be healed of their disease, but rather to spread it. The Latins' abandonment of the true Orthodox Christian faith handed on by the apostles and the fathers has been, according to Symeon, deliberate and malicious. As he concludes the anti-heretical part of the *Dialogue*,⁸⁵ he returns to this point, using both biblical and philosophical arguments to demonstrate that the Spirit could only proceed from the Father alone.

From this first and gravest sin, the Latins have gone on to other matters.⁸⁶ According to Symeon, the Latins have abandoned the original way of celebrating the eucharist.⁸⁷ The celebrant and the laity do not receive from the same bread and cup.⁸⁸ Neither the priests nor the bishops concelebrate the liturgy, as Symeon claims that the original apostles and Paul did with one another.⁸⁹

The Latins have likewise abandoned the ancient practice of fasting on Wednesday and Friday, and have cut off the first two days of Lent.⁹⁰ Rather, they choose to fast on Saturday, when they ought not, for it is a day in memory of God as creator, a foretaste of the Resurrection, and thus, a day on which Christians should not fast, as the apostles and the fathers taught.⁹¹

Against the canons of the Church, Symeon says, the Latins allow sons to marry their mothers and sisters to marry their brothers.⁹²

Further, the Latins have not retained the ancient practice of ordaining priests by the imposition of hands alone, but have added an anointing to the service. The Latin priests are not ordained in the sanctuary of the church, with their hands on the altar as Christ and the apostles

82 PG 155:97–109.

83 Cf. Kunzler 167–173.

84 PG 155:97D–101A.

85 Ibid. 157–176.

86 Ibid. 101A–109A.

87 See "Symeon's Theology of the Eucharist" below, pp. 43–45.

88 Ibid. 101D.

89 Ibid. 104B–C.

90 Ibid. 101A.

91 Ibid. 110B.

92 Ibid. 101C.

taught, but outside. Their bishops are often ordained by only one bishop, instead of by several, as the Church teaches.⁹³

The Latins do not baptize by triple immersion, but by infusion. They leave the newly baptized unchrismated and uncommunicated, so that some even die without ever receiving these mysteries of the Church.⁹⁴

The Latins have not kept to one monastic habit (i.e., one form of religious life), but have multiplied them. Here Symeon defends the Byzantine distinction of greater and lesser habit, saying that this is actually only one form of life: the lesser habit forms an initiation and a foretaste (ἀρχαῖον) in monastic life.⁹⁵

Among the Latins, fornication is commonly accepted. Although such things, as Symeon recognizes, also happen among the Orthodox, among the latter this sin is chastised and sinners must do penance. The Latins commit all manner of sexual sins and do not repent. Their priests are often surrounded by their illegitimate children, and even have concubines.⁹⁶

In one section of the *Dialogue* Symeon even goes on to complain about the Latins' dietary customs.⁹⁷ He claims that food eaten by the Latins has affected their intelligence (γνώμη) and disposition (διάθεσις), making them beast-like (θηρωδεις). They eat strangled animals and consume their blood (both practices forbidden in Lev 17:10ff and Acts 15:29). Symeon even claims that Latins consume animal urine.⁹⁸

The complaints voiced by Symeon against the Latins are of strikingly unequal value. His demand that there should be one single eucharistic loaf broken and shared by all has merit. When he objects to the absence of concelebration in the eucharist, one could say that Vatican II agreed with him by making concelebration possible, although the evidence for concelebration among the apostles is non-existent.

Symeon's other anti-Latin positions are very weak, such as his objections to unleavened bread, to dietary rules, and so forth, many of which are simply wrong and foolish. The Latin fast days are not a rejection of the supposedly "original" fast days, i.e., those of the Byzantine tradition; it is simply another tradition. Likewise, the calculation of Lent is an ecclesiastical custom that emerged in different forms; the Latins did not take the Byzantine Lent and then trim two days off! Both Latins and

93 Ibid. 101C-104A.

94 Ibid. 101D.

95 Ibid. 104B-C.

96 Ibid. 105A-B.

97 Ibid. 105D-109A.

98 Ibid. 108A.

Orthodox are unequivocally opposed to the marriage of immediate family members to one another, nor have the Latins ever held that sexual misconduct is acceptable. His other accusations are simply too foolish to merit comment. Here Symeon's writing constitutes part of a considerable body of Greek theological literature: the anti-Latin polemics.⁹⁹ As Balfour remarked about Symeon's observations of the events around him, one must take care: sometimes his theology gets in the way of an accurate report.¹⁰⁰ Such is doubly true when Symeon writes about the non-Orthodox.

Given Symeon's basic attitude to the Latins, his positions on two questions are surprisingly close to Roman Catholic doctrines: the sacraments of the Church and the nature of the papacy. Symeon's list of the Church's mysteries, i.e., sacraments, is particularly intriguing: baptism, chrismation, communion, ordination, marriage, penance, and holy unction.¹⁰¹ It is the classic list of the seven sacraments of the Roman Church, first elaborated by Peter Lombard in the twelfth century.¹⁰² We find this list among Greek theologians in the thirteenth century, sometimes in polemical contexts. Occasionally there are minor variants, but the list of the seven sacraments became increasingly common in Orthodox thought.¹⁰³

What Symeon has to say about the **papacy is even more startling**. He argues not for a weaker, but rather for stronger authority in the papacy. According to Symeon, if the Latin church were genuinely orthodox, the bishop of Rome would be entitled to nearly unlimited control over all aspects of the life of the entire Church. Symeon does not wish to contradict the primacy of Rome because this primacy could do the Church no harm. If the pope only returns to the **orthodox faith** of St. Peter and

99 Cf. Henry Chadwick, *East and West. The Making of a Rift in the Church. From Apostolic Times Until the Council of Florence* (Oxford, 2003); Tia M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists. Errors of the Latins* (Urbana, IL, 2000). For the modern result of such polemics, see Vasilios N. Makrides and Dirk Uffelmann, "Studying Eastern Orthodox Anti-Westernism: The Need for a Comparative Research Agenda," in *Orthodox Christianity and Contemporary Europe: Selected Papers of the International Conference held at the University of Leeds, England, in June 2001*, ed. by Jonathan Sutton and Wil van den Bercken (Leuven, 2003) 87–120. My thanks to Fr. Taft for indicating these sources.

100 PHW 110–112.

101 PG 155:177B.

102 ODCC 1218–1219.

103 Josef Finkenzeller, *Die Lehre von den Sakramenten im allgemeinen. Von der Schrift bis zur Scholastik* (Freiburg, 1980) 167–169; cf. inter alia, *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* (The great euchologion), ed. by Spyridôn Zerbos (Athens, 1986), the illustration on the reverse of the title page.

demonstrates himself a true successor of St. Peter, Symeon would be ready to recognize the pope as leader, head, and supreme bishop of the Church, and accept all the titles and privileges which the apostolic tradition grants to the bishop of Rome — provided that he remain true to the orthodox Christian faith.¹⁰⁴ If the pope were to proclaim the faith of the ancient popes "Sylvester, Agatho, Leo, Liberius, Martin, and Gregory, then we will proclaim him apostolic and the first of the other bishops. We will give him the submission due not only to Peter, but to the Savior Himself."¹⁰⁵ However, since Symeon sees the bishop of Rome as a heretic, none of this applies, and the pope was for him "a destroyer and enemy of the apostles."¹⁰⁶

Symeon does not indicate precisely what such a "return to orthodoxy" might entail. On the basis of Symeon's discussions of what constitutes authentic Christian liturgy, such as in E 11–14, it is clear that he sees only Byzantine Orthodox worship as valid. For him, that liturgy is a direct continuation of the earliest Christian worship, "as handed down by the Savior himself." Consequently, it would seem that the only acceptable return to orthodoxy would have been a total Byzantinization of the Western Church.

Symeon's Theology of the Eucharist

The most essential point in Symeon's eucharistic theology, and the one that he himself would most emphasize, is that the consecrated bread and wine are indeed the body and blood of the Lord Jesus (E 6, E 37, E 64, E 66, E 75, E 78, E 81–82, E 84–85, E 99, E 101, E 107, E 108, L 34, L 57, L 64, L 85, L 91–95, L 100–103, L 109, L 111, L 153, and L 160).¹⁰⁷ He offers no metaphysical explanation of Christ's presence in the eucharist, but the repeated references to the reality of Christ's body and blood make it quite clear that he firmly believes in it.

Surely the second most important point for Symeon would be that the transformation of the bread and the wine into the body and blood of the Lord takes place at the epiclesis (ἐπίκλησις) or invocation of the Holy Spirit (E 77–90, L 142).¹⁰⁸ He firmly rejects the Roman belief that the

104 PG 155:120A–B.

105 Ἐστω μόνον τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας Σιλβέστρου τε καὶ Ἀγάθωνος Λέοντός τε καὶ Λιβερίου καὶ Μαρτίνου καὶ Γρηγορίου διάδοχος ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ οὕτως ἀποστολικὸν αὐτὸν καὶ πρῶτον τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχιερέων, καὶ τὴν ὑποταγὴν αὐτῷ δώσομεν οὐχ ὡς τῷ Πέτρῳ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὡς τῷ Σωτῆρι. PG 155:120C–D.

106 λυμένων καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔσται πολέμιος. PG 155:120D.

107 Cf. Kunzler 205–212.

108 Cf. PG 155:154–157 and Lambert Mellis, *Die eucharistische Epiklese in den Werken des Nikolaos Kabasilas und des Symeon von Thessaloniki* (Rome, 1977) 30–246.

words of institution bring about the transformation. This is made clear for Symeon by the fact that the priest does not make the sign of the cross over the gifts as he recites the words of institution, but only as he is praying the epiclesis (E 83). In one of his more extreme passages (E 87–90) he concludes that anyone not believing in the consecration by the epiclesis is not a Christian.

By participating in Christ's life, above all in the eucharist, the believer becomes "a god according to grace" (L 102).¹⁰⁹ Only the three persons of the Holy Trinity are God "according to nature," but the saints, especially the Theotokos, and all believers who partake of the mysteries, share in the divinity by grace (L 102). This is a clear echo of Palamite hesychasm.

In dealing with the question of leavened or unleavened bread, Symeon quotes two passages of scripture: I Cor 5:8, "Let us, therefore, celebrate the festival, not with the old leaven, the leaven of malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (L 41) and either Mt 13:33 or Lk 13:21, "The kingdom of heaven is like leavening which a woman took and mixed into three measures of flour..." (L 44). Symeon refers to the first passage as a support claimed for the Latin practice of unleavened bread, pointing out — correctly — that, when read in context, it does not deal with the eucharist and hence cannot constitute a valid argument for the use of unleavened bread in that service. In fact, neither passage has anything at all to do with eucharistic bread. But Symeon, using precisely the same technique he criticized in the Latins, employs an elaborate allegorical interpretation of the second passage to demonstrate that one should use leavened bread in the eucharist (L 44–45).

Symeon goes on to explain that unleavened bread is characteristic of the Law (the Old Testament, i.e., Judaism), while leavened bread is characteristic of Grace (the New Testament, i.e., Christianity). In L 47–49 and 54, Symeon employs some of his most violent, and absurd, rhetoric in a direct attack in the second person singular on some unspecified person, possibly a Roman Catholic priest (cf. L 56).¹¹⁰ He states that the use of unleavened bread is a reversion to Judaism, suggesting that one of the principal differences, if not the most important one, between Christianity and Judaism is the type of liturgical bread used! If one celebrates the eucharist with unleavened bread, he says, one might as well be circumcised and keep the Jewish sabbath "since nothing is abominable to you"

¹⁰⁹ Kunzler 213–214.

¹¹⁰ Since Thessalonika was under Venetian jurisdiction from 1423 on, Symeon may have come in contact with Roman Catholic priests (Nicol 335–336 and Ostrogorsky 560).

(L 47). He indulges in a lengthy effort to demonstrate that Jesus and the apostles did not celebrate the Jewish Passover (חג) seder at the Last Supper (L 49–58).

In the same part of his commentary, after a brief return to the prothesis (L 61–63), Symeon embarks on another excursus, this one against the Armenians and their practice of consecrating an unmixed chalice (L 64–78). On the surface, the attack is directed at both the Armenians and the ancient sect of the Hydroparastatae, a marginal group in the fifth century who consecrated a chalice of water in the liturgy. Plainly, Symeon's motive in bringing up the Hydroparastatae is to draw a parallel between what would seem in his era an absurd exaggeration — consecrating a chalice of pure water — and the Armenian practice of consecrating only wine for the sake of drawing ridicule on that people and their liturgical practices.

The Armenian Church is an ancient Christian community which began long before the celebrated conversion of King Trdat III in 314.¹¹¹ Its liturgy like its church history reveals an extremely complex picture of varying and contradictory influences.¹¹² The use of both mixed and unmixed chalice grew out of secular practice. Wine mixed with water was consecrated in the eucharist because in domestic usage wine was usually drunk diluted with water in the ancient Mediterranean.¹¹³ In Armenia, on the other hand, wine was drunk undiluted. In time, adherents of the two usages developed theological reasons to justify what were originally socio-cultural differences. Symeon forcefully lays out the Greek position in L 64–78.

Symeon uses the Gospel account of blood and water flowing from the Lord's side on the cross (Jn 19:34) to justify the mixed chalice. His other arguments against the Armenian practice are drawn from Byzantine sources, such as the texts of the anaphoras of St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil the Great, and, interestingly enough, St. James (L 70–71), the Byzantinized form of the ancient Jerusalem liturgy. In the concluding sections (L 72–78), Symeon argues that the Greek Church under Constantinople constitutes a vast international church, following conciliar prac-

111 Nina Garsoïan, "The Armenian Church between Byzantium and the East," in Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck, eds., *Treasures in Heaven. Armenian Art, Religion, and Society. Papers Delivered at the Pierpont Morgan Library, 21–22 May 1994*, ed. by Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck (New York, 1998) 3–12.

112 Gabriele Winkler, "Armenia's Liturgy at the Crossroads of Neighbouring Traditions," *OCP* 74 (2008) 363–387; and Taft, "The Armenian Liturgy. Its Origins and Characteristics," in *Treasures in Heaven* 13–30.

113 Taft, "Water into Wine. The Twice-mixed Chalice in the Byzantine Eucharist," *Muséon* 100 (1987) 323–324.

tices of ancient derivation and that consequently its practices should be observed by all Christians.

In contrast to Constantinople's international scope, he speaks of the Armenians receiving their religion "from some isolated individuals... in some remote corner" (L 72),¹¹⁴ as if Armenia's geographic isolation somehow excluded authentic Christianity or serious theological thought. In the final section (L 78), the tone descends even further. The Armenian Church has not been set up by God or God's established servants, but by merely human initiative. The Armenians have no worthwhile theologians to compare with those of the Greeks. Armenian theologians are "pseudo-teachers," who "begin with one, two or more forged doctrines and uninitiated mysteries." The phrase *μυστηρίων ἀμυήτων* (L 78 "uninitiated mysteries," essentially unbaptized or non-Christian sacraments) is a particularly scandalous insult to the sacraments of the Armenian Church. Symeon goes on to say that the Armenians have rejected the common decisions of the other churches and the fathers, and made up new contrary laws, as if the Armenian Church had been part of most of the Byzantine synods.

Symeon names no sources and clearly knew very little about the Armenian Church. He does not mention a single Armenian theologian and says nothing about their liturgical practices, other than the unmixed chalice. In particular, he seems quite unaware that the Armenians also use unleavened bread and celebrate with the head covered in the liturgy, practices he criticized in other churches.

With regard to the commemorative particles offered in the prothesis, Symeon is very firm that one must under no circumstances offer them for flagrant sinners or the non-Orthodox. The particles take the place of the persons for whom they are offered and the proximity to the "lamb," consecrated as the body of the Lord, will draw down the wrath and condemnation of God on sinners, the non-Orthodox, and also on the priest who makes such offerings (E 60, E 107-108, L 105).

Symeon zealously defends the honor paid to the as yet unconsecrated bread and wine in the Great Entrance, in which the Orthodox faithful of his time bow down in reverence to the holy gifts being brought to the altar. He strenuously denies the accusation that such reverence is idolatry (E 65). This accusation seems likely to have originated among Roman Catholics, astonished that the unconsecrated gifts be paid such honor. Although not yet consecrated by the prayers of the anaphora, the gifts are nonetheless sanctified by their presentation (*ἡγιασμένοις τῇ προσαγωγῇ* E 65). They are antitypes of Christ, and as with icons, the honor paid to the antitype passes on to the one represented (E 66).

114 ἔκ τινων μερικῶν...ἐν γωνίᾳ.

Symeon makes an interesting observation in E 90, where he condemns Roman priests for blowing on the gifts during the liturgy. This refers no doubt to the custom used by speakers of Italian and others who have no pronunciation of H.¹¹⁵ They bent close over the elements and emphasizing the H of "Hoc est enim corpus meum," in such a way that appeared to be blowing on the gifts. Consequently, it would appear that at least once Symeon may have been present at a Roman mass and was almost certainly within the sanctuary for the liturgy; otherwise he would have been unaware of this practice.

Symeon's Mystagogy

The title of E, *Ἑρμηνεία περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ναοῦ*, refers to mystagogy in Symeon's thought. In fact, symbolic meanings of various acts, persons, and objects are continually mentioned in both E and L. I have already referred briefly to his mystagogy above,¹¹⁶ where I called it "iconic" because each element seems to be a separate illustration. It is also "iconic" in that it reflects very closely the icons painted in late Byzantine churches, as established by Schulz.¹¹⁷

For Symeon, participating fully in the liturgy calls for understanding all the symbolisms in the liturgy (E 2, L 163-164). The liturgical roles, actions, and implements are above all symbols of another reality. One need only consider how often Symeon uses the terms δηλοῖ ("shows, represents"), τυποῖ ("typifies"), and εἰκονίζει ("depicts") to understand how the liturgy is predominantly a symbolic presentation for Symeon. In transcending the superficial appearances, the mind discovers higher spiritual realities, since the images lead to the archetype.¹¹⁸ Depicted in the liturgy are events from the history of salvation as well as the celestial realities, but for the archbishop the history of salvation clearly predominates.¹¹⁹

As both Bornert and Schulz make clear, Symeon uses the mystagogical method found in Maximos the Confessor although Symeon rarely quotes him. Symeon's writing also draws extensively on Pseudo-Dionysios, but does not pursue philosophical argumentation as does the

115 *Concilium Tridentinum. Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio*, ed. by Stephan Eheses (Freiburg, 1919) vol. 8, part 5, section 420 ("Abusus circa missae sacrificium") 919.15-17.

116 See "Symeon as Commentator" above, pp. 23-26.

117 Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy* 100-114.

118 Eg. E 66, L 136-138 (PG 155:340B, 384B).

119 Cf. Bornert 250.

Areopagite.¹²⁰ Bornert characterizes Symeon's allegorical interpretation as "Alexandrian symbolism,"¹²¹ using the term very loosely for all allegorical hermeneutics.

The mystagogy in these two commentaries is so extensive that a separate study would be necessary to compile an exhaustive catalog and to make an adequate analysis of it. Schulz provides a rapid overview and synthesis of Symeon's mystagogy.¹²² Although Bornert does not go into detail, he provides an interesting introduction to Symeon's mystagogy in his study.¹²³

Symeon offers no statement of how to put together a mystagogy, other than his observations that it comes from the tradition and from the great saints of the past. Bornert asserts that Symeon "attributes to the sacrament the triple role of purification, illumination, and perfection,"¹²⁴ however this principle does not truly constitute any sort of guiding principle. Although Symeon applies the Dionysian triplet of purification, illumination, and perfection to the three major orders of the Church (E 27-30) and uses them in his explanation of ordination,¹²⁵ they do not occur elsewhere in either E or L. Symeon also does not refer explicitly to the four-part interpretation outlined in Taft's foreword to the present volume.¹²⁶ His mystagogy does make reference to historical realities, doctrinal beliefs, moral precepts, and eschatology. However, it is not clear how conscious Symeon was of these four possible parallel currents in mystagogy.

In his presentation of Symeon's commentaries, Bornert lays out an organized set of principles behind the writings.¹²⁷ The various points mentioned by Bornert are certainly to be found in Symeon, as his footnotes demonstrate. However, the commentaries themselves reveal little of the order Bornert describes. Symeon's text presents a great number of images and reflections, but the main organizing principle seems to be the order of the services. Reading Symeon's commentaries on the liturgy, one finds that he starts at the beginning of the rite and proceeds through it chronologically, mentioning the symbolic interpretations of the actions as they occur in the liturgical celebration. However, he repeatedly leaves the order of the liturgy behind, especially in L, and sets out either short asides or extended excursus. A typical example of the asides would be the

120 Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy* 114-124 and Bornert 248-249.

121 Bornert 248; cf. Taft, Foreword above, pp. 8-13.

122 Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy* 114-124.

123 Bornert 248-251.

124 Ibid. 249.

125 PG 155:364A.

126 cf. Taft, Foreword above, pp. 2-4.

127 Bornert pp. 248-251.

consideration of the order of communicants in L 139–140, where the overall subject is recitation of the creed and the kiss of peace. In E 77–90, the discussion of the epiclesis constitutes an extensive excursus. As noted above,¹²⁸ Symeon's stylistic inconsistency can create confusion.

As an example, let us consider the symbolism of the enarxis. First, Symeon tells us that the bishop represents Christ,¹²⁹ and those with him (deacons) typify the angels and the apostles (E 46, L 118). The hierarch vesting represents Christ taking on human nature in his incarnation (E 43). Then the bishop's "descent to the West" represents the Lord's appearance on earth, but also His descent to the underworld after His death (E 43, L 120). The psalmists, representing the choir of the prophets, sing three antiphons in honor of the Trinity (E 44, L 121).¹³⁰ As the prophets foretold the mystery of salvation, so the psalm verses come before the verse-responses about Christ that accompany them (E 44). The verse-responses first honor the Theotokos because by her intercession we are saved, then the saints who struggled on behalf of God, and finally Christ, "the originator and accomplisher of our salvation" (E 45, L 121).

The priests leaving the sanctuary after completing their prayers represent the descent of the angels to Christ at the Resurrection and at the Ascension. By bowing and rising as he says the Prayer of the Little Entrance, the bishop typifies the Resurrection (E 46, L 122). The deacon's exclamation "Wisdom! Be attentive!" also represents the Resurrection (E 46, L 124). The lamps accompanying the bishop are symbols of the Ascension (E 47). The verse sung by the choir also represents the Resurrection and the Ascension (E 47). The now combined clergy of bishop, priests and deacons typifies the apostles with the Lord and also the angels (E 47).

As the bishop makes the entrance, he is a symbol of the risen Lord ascending to heaven since the nave represents earth and the sanctuary, heaven. As angels escorted the Lord ascending to heaven, so the priests and deacons escort the bishop (E 48, L 124). The opening of the doors represents heaven being opened to Christ (E 49), or the bishop blessing and opening the doors depicts Christ, who is the Lord of the powers (L 125).

Having entered, the bishop incenses the altar, symbolizing the presence of the Holy Spirit, which was sent down after Christ ascended (E 50), or he honors the altar with incense because it is the throne of God and His place of repose (L 126). The choir's acclamation of the bishop represents the Resurrection and the Ascension (E 47). The acclamation is directed to Christ and shows that the bishop represents Christ (L 124). But the accla-

¹²⁸ See "Symeon as Commentator" above, pp. 23–26.

¹²⁹ Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy* 116.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* Schulz mistakenly says that Symeon considers all those singing hymns through the liturgy to be symbols of the angels.

mation of the bishop and the emperor (βασιλεύς) also shows that, having ascended, Christ established both the clergy and imperial authority (L 128). The bishop blesses the Gospel with the dikirion because of 1) Christ's enlightenment of heaven and earth, 2) Christ's two natures, 3) our spiritual and perceptible salvation, and 4) the enlightenment of both men and angels (E 51, L 129). Next, the singing of the Trisagion "shows the mystery of the Trinity" (E 52). The bishop again blesses the Gospel, this time with the trikirion, which represents the proclamation of the Trinity contained in the Gospel (E 53, L 129).

Like Christ ascending to heaven, the bishop then ascends the synthronon, which represents Christ's throne at the right hand of the Father (E 54, L 127, L 130). The steps of the synthronon signify "the ascents and the ranks of the angels and more lofty sacred men" (L 127). The blessing with the trikirion from the synthronon represents the holiness and brilliance of the Trinity, which were sent by Christ after His Ascension. Finally, the other priests sit beside the bishop, like Christ seated with the apostles (E 54).

This symbolic structure is clearly jumbled and disjointed. In fact, it is so symbolically overloaded that, as Schulz says, Symeon "bursts the framework apart."¹³¹ The one connecting thread is that the bishop always represents Christ. Various ministers with the bishop represent at one moment angels, then apostles, and at another time both. Some symbolisms depict strangely incongruent matters, like the bishop's "descent to the West," which represents both Christ's appearance on earth and His descent to the dead.

Although the symbolism is based on the order of the service, chronologically it is all out of order: after the "descent to the West," which represents Christ's appearance on earth, come the antiphons, which symbolize the prophetic foretelling of Christ's coming. The bishop typifies the Ascension by entering the sanctuary, and then immediately does it once again by climbing the steps of the synthronon. Symeon's interpretation of the three antiphons does not make much sense. His explanation would seem to call for either an ascending order with — a) the saints, b) the Mother of God, and c) the Lord — or a descending order — a) the Lord, b) the Mother of God, and c) the saints. Indeed, in all the catalog of symbolisms, there is no mention of which elements are more important and which are less. The opening blessing is scarcely mentioned, but the bishop's "descent to the West" is given a good deal of attention. Every single action mentioned seems to be of equal, or nearly equal, value.

131 Ibid. 119.

In liturgical terms, the ceremonies of the enarxis constitute a solemn beginning. The community congregates to begin its worship in the service of God. These rites prepare for all that follows — hearing the word of scripture and celebrating the eucharist. Yet, other than Symeon's insistence that the bishop, and no one else, indicates when the liturgy is to begin, there is little mention of a beginning and no mention whatever of any connection between these ceremonies and what follows in the liturgy. Symeon likewise ignores elements that are simply practical. Before the Little Entrance the clergy in the sanctuary go into the nave mainly because that is where the bishop happens to be at that time. The bishop opens the doors because the clergy are about to enter them. Symeon is far removed from the delightful common sense of Armenian Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan who when asked about the symbolic meaning of the four walls of the church responded, "They hold up the roof!"¹³²

Unfortunately, Symeon's mystagogy has nothing to do with the historical evolution of these ceremonies. Yet, in the final analysis, the ceremonial actions of the enarxis took place in the order Symeon knew precisely because of their historical formation. As a modern writer said of a similar, but more ancient medieval mystagogy in the Armenian church, the weaknesses of Symeon's of mystagogy could be most aptly summarized as follows:

1. Every ritual and word of the liturgy tends to be given equal prominence and significance. Very minor rituals are magnified disproportionately. Conversely, major elements can be reduced to a mere coincidental association or simile.
2. The functional purpose and historical development of a ritual are minimized.
3. When carried to the extreme, the words and rituals of the liturgy come to have little meaning in their own right; they can only be understood in association with something else.
4. Liturgical participation is reduced to memorizing and recalling associations from a catalogue of analogies.¹³³

¹³² Step'anos Siwnec'i, *The Commentary on the Armenian Daily Office by Bishop Step'anos Siwnec'i* († 735), ed. and English trans. by Michael Daniel Findikyan, OCA 270 (Rome, 2004) 520.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

Later Reception of Symeon's Theology

The wide-ranging Moldavian courtier and traveler Nicolae Spatar Milesku (1636–1708) translated into Russian the 1683 Molivdos edition of Symeon's classical works together with writings by Mark Eugenikos, metropolitan of Ephesus (c. 1391–1445). Milesku's manuscript contains 749 folia. The Russian title is a lengthy description, translating the title of the Greek original, published at Iași, Moldavia. In a concluding note, Milesku wrote that he finished his translation on 26 September 1697. In an 1883 publication Picot reported that the manuscript was in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow.¹³⁴

Symeon's name also emerges in the eucharistic controversies of the seventeenth century. The theologian and philosopher Sebastos Kyminîtês (1630–1702) listed Symeon among his sources.¹³⁵ However he neither quoted a text, mentioned any of Symeon's writing by name, nor even said which points he took from Symeon. Given that Kyminîtês was discussing the point of consecration in the eucharist, one may suggest that he was most likely referring to E 77–90.

Of theological writers, certainly the most enthusiastic admirer of St. Symeon would have to be Russian Archbishop Veniamin (Rumovsky-Krasnopevkov, 1739–1811), the archbishop of Nižny-Novgorod and Arzamas. In 1803 he published *Новая Скрижаль или объяснение о церкви, о литургии, и о всех службах и утварях церковных* (The New Tablet or an Explanation of the Church, of the Liturgy, and of Every Service and of Church Utensils), in which he quotes a number of authors, such as Germanos of Constantinople and Pseudo-Dionysios. However, his principal source unquestionably is Symeon of Thessalonika. For instance, in the three short opening chapters on the theological interpretation of the church (nineteen pages in the 1849 edition without illustrations), Arch-

134 Émile Picot, "Notice biographique et bibliographique sur Nicholas Spatar Milesku," in *Mélanges orientaux. Textes et traductions publiés par les professeurs de l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes à l'occasion du sixième congrès international des orientalistes réuni à Leyde* (Paris, 1883) 488–490.

135 Sebastos Kyminîtês, "Σεβαστοῦ Τραπεζουντίου Κυμινίτου ἐπιστολὴ περὶ μετουσιώσεως ἐν τῇ θεῷ εὐχαριστίᾳ" ("Letter of Sebastos Kyminîtês of Trebizond on transubstantiation in the Divine Eucharist"), ed. by Metr. Basileios of Anchialos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀληθεία* 1B (1881) 246; cf. Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821). Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* (Munich, 1988) 272.

bishop Veniamin quotes Symeon twenty-two times verbatim, and once refers to points Symeon makes without a quotation. A glance at any part of the rest of the book shows that the same rhythm of quotations of Symeon, once a page or more, continues throughout. Clearly for Veniamin, Symeon was *the* authority par excellence on matters of liturgical interpretation. Veniamin's book is really little more than a restatement of Symeon's theology.¹³⁶

Although *Новая Скрижаль* may not have been very creative, it seems to have been quite popular. The 1908 re-publication of the book in St. Petersburg, the last before the revolution, was the seventeenth edition. Personal contacts in 2006 with active Orthodox in Russia indicate that the book is still popular and considered an essential text on the Orthodox liturgy. In Russia it was "republished" in the 1990s several times in photocopied editions similar to the 1975 edition from Jordanville, New York. A new edition in modern Russian orthography was published in Moscow in 1999.¹³⁷

However, a far better known author than Archbishop Veniamin draws on Symeon of Thessalonika. Nikolaj Gogol' (1809–1852) names Symeon, Bishop Veniamin, and others in a general footnote on his sources in the preface of his *Размышления о божественной литургии* (Meditations on the Divine Liturgy), which he worked on extensively late in his life.¹³⁸ The book was published posthumously in 1857.

Despite the enormous debt we owe to Balfour for his research, some of his conclusions about Symeon seem problematic. Whatever one may think of his views today, Symeon is thoroughly consistent in his approach. The political and military struggle between the moribund Byzantine Empire and the Turks was for Symeon first and foremost a religious struggle between God and Satan. There was, for him, no place for prudential political decisions. One must ally oneself with the emperor and against the Muslims, and then trust in God, no matter how unlikely success may seem. Symeon's politics and his theology form a unified whole.

Given Symeon's approach to religious and theological problems, it is somewhat curious that Balfour chose to divide Symeon's unpublished writings into *politico-historical works* on one hand, and *theological works* on

136 My gratitude to Hieromonk Tavrian (Ilija) Smykov, a student of the Dukhovnaja Seminarija in Moscow, for indicating Veniamin's dependence on Symeon and initial information on *Новая Скрижаль*.

137 Ibid.

138 Nikolaj Gogol', *Размышления о божественной литургии* (Meditations on the Divine Liturgy; St. Petersburg, 1857), p. 3 in St. Petersburg 1902 edition.

the other.¹³⁹ Certainly none of Symeon's writings falls into the category of purely political or historical writing, as these terms are generally understood. All topics with which Symeon deals in his writings are for him religious questions. Indeed, many of his "theological works," by virtue of their public impact and relation to the political situation, were likewise political and historical works. Certain pieces, such as the lengthy Demetrios discourse *Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις μέγιστον ἀθλητὴν καὶ μυρροβλύτην Δημήτριον, ἐν ἱστορίας τύπῳ τὰ νεωστὶ αὐτοῦ γεγονότα διηγούμενος θαύματα* (Oration on the greatest athlete among the saints, the myrrh-giver Demetrios, presented as a history of the recent miracles wrought by him),¹⁴⁰ have more historical information than other works. Nonetheless, classifying a lengthy discourse on the miraculous intervention of St. Demetrios as a *politico-historical work* is bizarre. Although sacred scripture itself contains much information that is of historical value, one must always remember that the Bible is a collection of *religious* writings, otherwise one can hardly avoid badly misinterpreting it.

This division in Symeon's writings between politico-historical and theological questions seems to emerge from Balfour's interpretation of Symeon's actions and statements. By separating out Symeon's political stands, which Balfour often judges to be unwise and imprudent,¹⁴¹ Balfour seems to be making an attempt to salvage unscathed Symeon's religious and theological positions, such as his implacable opposition to the planned council of union, i.e. Florence-Ferrara.¹⁴²

The difficulty with this approach emerges from the fact that Symeon's relentless hatred of the Turks and his distrust and condemnation of the Latins both grow out of his conviction that the Orthodox and the Orthodox state are right, and that everyone else is wrong. Symeon does not seem to have compared the difficulties of living under a Latin government with those of living under the Turks. For Symeon both were obviously very undesirable.

It is very difficult to find an objective justification for Balfour's conclusion that political accommodation should have been attempted with more moderate Muslim political leaders, while all negotiations with the Latin religious leaders should have been condemned. That the particular compromises worked out in the Council of Florence-Ferrara did not ultimately heal the split between the churches cannot by itself be taken as a justification of Symeon's position. Symeon did not live to see the particular decisions of Florence-Ferrara; rather, he was opposed *a priori* to *any*

139 PHW and ThW.

140 PHW 39-69.

141 PHW 123-128, et al.

142 PHW 219-228.

compromise with the Latins. If one suggests that Symeon's political judgments on certain matters were flawed, then it seems that one must call into question the majority of his stands on public questions. Whether he was right or wrong — judged by whatever criteria one might wish — Symeon was entirely consistent. On this one point, it must be admitted, it is Balfour who is less consistent.

An unfortunate treatment of Symeon's theology can be found in *Ὁ Άγιος Συμεών και ἡ Δύση: Ἡ Λατινική Ἐκκλησία και οἱ Καινοτομίες της* (St. Symeon and the West: The Latin Church and its innovations), a doctoral dissertation at the University of Thessalonika by Metropolitan Dionysios (Kyrastos), published in 1993, in which the author accepts Symeon's conclusions about the history and nature of the Latin liturgy. Symeon had such limited documentation at his disposal that his mistakes are understandable. Bishop Dionysios, on the other hand, overlooks all of the modern research which makes quite clear that most differences between Latin and Byzantine Christianity are not Latin innovations, but simply natural developments of a different liturgical tradition, a tradition which is, in fact, more ancient than the Byzantine.

Conclusion

Symeon saw the political and historical situation around him in religious terms as a struggle between Christianity, i.e. Orthodoxy, and its enemies. An unchanging stability in all its forms and expressions characterizes Orthodox Christianity for Symeon, distinguishing it from other Christian groups who have adopted innovations and abandoned the authentic apostolic tradition. In spite of contact with a range of historical sources, Symeon believes that the Byzantine Orthodox liturgy has not changed.

Symeon's rejection of the West is particularly strident. He does not understand that other liturgical practices are independent developments, not innovations against a single unified *Urtradition*. Many of the charges he makes are simply mistaken and foolish. But in the midst of Symeon's strident anti-Latin rhetoric, surprisingly one finds that Symeon has the Western list of the Church's sacraments. He also makes a remarkable defense for a strong papacy.

Symeon repeatedly makes quite clear that he, like most of the preceding Christian tradition, East and West, believes that the eucharist is indeed the body and blood of the Lord. He believes that the transformation of the gifts takes place at the epiclesis, and not at the words of institution. The eucharist must be celebrated with leavened bread; to use unleavened bread is to return to Judaism. The chalice must also be mixed, unlike in the Armenian practice. Symeon's rhetorical attack on the

Armenian Church, about which he seems to know very little, takes him to remarkable depths of childishness and absurdity.

In spite of Jesus' custom of spending time with sinners and the outcast, the priest must take care never to offer commemorative particles for known sinners and the non-Orthodox because their symbolic proximity to the Lord on the diskos will bring down God's condemnation on those commemorated if they are unworthy and also on the priest doing so.

Symeon's mystagogy presents a rich catalogue of symbolisms. No one of the symbolic interpretations is in itself necessarily objectionable, but altogether they tend to obscure much of the essential nature of the Divine Liturgy.

Although Symeon was referred to briefly in seventeenth-century theology, the theological writer who drew most heavily on Symeon's writings is certainly the eighteenth-century Russian Bishop Veniamin, whose *New Tablet* contains hundreds of quotations of Symeon. The best-known author to use Symeon would have to be Nikolaj Gogol', whose *Meditations on the Divine Liturgy* draw on Symeon both directly and indirectly via *The New Tablet*.

Some modern interpretation of Symeon at times betrays more about the writers than about Symeon. David Balfour's remarkable scholarship has enormously advanced what we know of Symeon and his period. His analysis, however, is characterized by a division of Symeon's works and attitudes into politico-historical points and theological ones, a division that Symeon's thinking seems to render untenable. Michael Kunzler's study is the most balanced and thorough study of Symeon's theology.¹⁴³ The 1993 doctoral dissertation of Bishop Dionysios (Kyrastos) is of little value in understanding Symeon or liturgical history.

Technical and Editorial Questions

The Choice of Manuscript Zagora 23

Most of the text of E and all of the text of L of the present edition is based on the manuscript Zagora 23 (hereafter Z) for two reasons. First, the PG text presents a number of significant mistakes. For instance, the questions in PG 155:709B–C (Τί τὸ τελεστικόν; etc.) make no sense in the context because the masculine adjectives of the original reading, τί τὸ τελεστικός; ("What is a 'consecrator'?"), have been erroneously "cor-

¹⁴³ Kunzler, *Gnadenquellen*.

rected" to make them agree with the neuter τό instead. In other words, what were originally questions about *persons* (τελεστικός, φωτιστικός, καθαρτικός) became questions about *abstractions* (τελεστικόν, etc.).

Much more importantly, a number of major corrections and additions found in Z appear to have been made by Symeon himself. There are clearly two styles of handwriting in the manuscript (setting aside the inscription in the upper margin of the opening folio of E, which dates to the eighteenth century): 1) a clear, thin script in brown-black ink, employing scribal abbreviations and ligatures sparingly (Z¹); and 2) a much smaller, and considerably less legible, broad script in reddish brown ink employing many abbreviations and ligatures (Z²). The corrections and additions are all in the second hand. The handwriting of the modifications is similar to what is considered to be an autograph of Symeon on manuscript 2065 of the National Library in Athens.¹⁴⁴

On the basis of the handwriting and ink used in Z², it is most probable that the modifications are by Symeon. The hand of the corrections indicates that they belong to Symeon's period: early to mid-fifteenth-century. Whoever composed the corrections and additions certainly wished to improve the text. He also understood the original text and the author's meaning well enough to make modifications that are not only consistent with the text, but also enhance it, unlike the chapter titles discussed below. Moreover the corrections of the Pseudo-Dionysian terminology, which originally had the illuminator (φωτιστικός) and the consecrator (τελεστικός) inverted, certainly suggests the author himself. Who else is likely to have read Symeon's commentaries, then checked the unnamed Dionysian works, and upon discovering mistakes returned to Symeon's texts to correct all the instances of mistaken terms and add explanations typical of Symeon's theological outlook to fit into the general scheme of the commentaries?

Additional evidence supporting Symeon's authorship of the corrections and additions are the modifications of some of the honorific adjectives assigned to him in the manuscript. The scribal hand Z¹ regularly terms him ἅγιος ("holy") or ἁγιώτατος ("most holy"). In several places, Z² has crossed out these modifiers and replaced them with the words ταπεινός ("humble") or ἐλάχιστος ("least"),¹⁴⁵ which Symeon uses in the commentaries to describe himself.¹⁴⁶

144 Cf. PHW 28 and photocopy in Fountoulis, *Τὸ Λειτουργικὸν ἔργον. Συμῶν τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης* (The liturgical work of Symeon of Thessalonika; Thessalonika, 1966) 183.

145 Z ff 219r, 235r, and 254r.

146 E 10, L 62.

Following Balfour,¹⁴⁷ it is now generally accepted that the first clear handwriting in black is that of an anonymous scribe and the second far more challenging writing in brown ink squeezed between the lines and in the margins is most likely that of Symeon himself.¹⁴⁸

Codicological and Paleographical Description of Z 23

The manuscript Zagora 23 is a fifteenth-century paper manuscript, currently housed in the public library of Zagora, Greece, "a beautiful village on the north-eastern slope of the Pelion range." The manuscript contains 349 leaves, 214 x 146 mm of glossy ivory-colored Italian paper. The writing occupies 157 x 86 mm in a single column. Its stamped red leather binding is considerably later than the manuscript itself.¹⁴⁹

Of the works in the present edition, L begins on f 23, line 16 and continues to the conclusion of the work on f 40v. E begins on f 175, line 1 and continues to the end of f 182v, at which point a leaf of the manuscript is missing. The manuscript text resumes on f 184, continuing to the end of f 187v. Sections 91 to 110 of E are missing from Z. The text for these lacunae is taken from PG.

The principal text Z¹ is written in a typically fifteenth-century hand, which is very fine and legible, using a brown-black ink. It includes a number of added questions in the margin, many of which often deal with extraneous issues quite unrelated to the central topic being discussed. These questions were later numbered and interposed as chapter heads into the text of printed editions, with the exception of Goar's edition of E.¹⁵⁰ In addition, there are numerous corrections and additions in a much broader and rather more challenging hand, Z². The corrections are made to the earlier scribal text and are necessarily subsequent to it. As stated above, these are almost certainly Symeon's autograph notes.¹⁵¹

147 PHW 26–34, especially 28–29.

148 In addition to Balfour, cf. Boris Fonkič, "Über den Schreiber der Handschrift Z der Werke von Symeon aus Thessalonike," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 30 (1981) 299–300; Basilius J. Groen, *Ter genezing van ziel en lichaam: De viering van het oliesel in de Grieks-Orthodoxe Kerk* (For the healing of soul and body: The celebration of the unction of the sick in the Greek Orthodox Church; Kampen and Weinheim, 1990) 40; and Iōannēs M. Fountoulis in the introduction to his edition of Symeon's "Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας" (Drama, 2003) 252.

149 PHW 27. For a complete codicological study of manuscript Zagora 23, see PHW 26–35.

150 PHW 27.

151 Ibid. 29.

As Balfour explains in great detail, most of this paper has watermarks typical of the period from 1380 to 1430, although a few of the leaves have watermarks that can be found as early as 1341 and as late as 1496. This type of Italian paper was widespread throughout the Mediterranean at the time of Symeon.¹⁵²

As some works in the manuscript refer to events which occurred in the spring of 1427, the manuscript as a whole cannot be older than that date. Taken together, the Italian watermarks on the paper point to the third decade of the fifteenth century and no later than September 1429, the date of Symeon's death.

We have no indication of where the manuscript was located prior to the eighteenth century. In the 1700s it was owned by Ecumenical Patriarch Kallinikos III (January–July 1757), who then gave it to the School of the Savior in Zagora, as his notes on f 175 in the manuscript indicate. It passed to the public library of the village with the rest of the holdings of the school.¹⁵³

The Chapter Titles

The present edition and translation free Symeon's text of the "chapter headings," mainly questions, which were inserted into nearly all printed texts. An attentive reading of the text suggests at once that there is something wrong with these chapter-heading questions. For instance, E 4 has two questions which the seventeenth-century editor used to divide the work into chapters 1 and 2: "What is the effect of sacred baptism?" and "What is holy chrism?" If Symeon had been seriously concerned with baptism at this point, one would have to conclude that his response was unbelievably brief — a single sentence! Chapter 2, on the other hand, goes on from section 4 through section 14, although chrism, its ostensible subject, is only discussed in the first lines of the announced "chapter." Furthermore, neither "chapter 1" nor "chapter 2" actually initiates any argument; both form part of the continuing discussion of the liturgical mysteries in the Christian economy of salvation that runs from section 2 to section 10. Here, as elsewhere, the chapter divisions and their headings obviously do not belong. How then did they occur?

A glance at one of the older manuscripts of Symeon's liturgical commentaries, such as Zagora 23 or Vatican gr. 1933 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City) resolves the question immediately. In these manuscripts, the questions appear as marginal notations. If one reads the commentaries without the chapter headings, the text has a

¹⁵² Ibid. 30–31.

¹⁵³ Ibid. 27.

much more consistent tone. Without the chapter titles, then, the confusion disappears.

The presence of the questions in L is even more peculiar insofar as it is a *dialogue*. If the author had intended these questions to be a part of his work, what would have been more logical than to have one of the speakers raise these questions?

Furthermore, it is interesting to note how Symeon's corrections and additions, Z², are positioned among the marginal questions in Z¹. In the main text, the added remarks in the reddish-brown ink, Z², are placed between the lines, thereby more or less preserving the basic readability of most of the earlier text in brown-black ink, Z¹. In contrast, additions in the margin of Z frequently entirely cover the marginal questions. It appears that Symeon had no hesitation about writing over the marginal questions and making them very difficult to read. It thus seems that the marginal questions were unimportant to the author and almost certainly not written by him.

In many cases the questions depart from the main subject being discussed. Consequently they seem have been added by someone who did not understand or was not interested in the lines of argument of the texts. Since the questions are written in the same hand as the main text of the treatises, Z¹, the most likely conclusion is that Symeon's scribe composed the marginal questions.

Given their basic irrelevance to the text, in the present volume the questions have been returned to their original places in the margins, but not entirely omitted. They have been retained both because they constitute an element of the text that Symeon knew and worked with, and also because they are present in nearly all previous editions.

E also contains marginal numbers (as in E 16, 17, etc.), which indicate the number of arguments, or elements of a given argument, in certain sections. Like the marginal questions, they seem to bear little direct relation to the original text, and they are written in the same scribal hand as the main text and the marginal questions, Z¹. They are frequently not positioned opposite the points they indicate, but set at equal intervals along the margin. They add little to the text, and printed editions, including PG, omit them. In the present volume the numbers have been located in the text proper, at the beginning of the points enumerated. This procedure is adopted because of lack of space in the margins and to avoid confusion about precisely what is being numbered. I am grateful to Fr. John Baggary, SJ for his assistance in helping to distribute them in as reasonable a manner as possible. Like all elements not included in the PG text, the marginal numbers are in italics.

The most widely available text of E and L is in PG 155. In order to facilitate reference to that edition (and works using it), the chapter

numbers in PG are retained to accompany the questions in the facing English translation. As in the manuscript Zagora 23 itself, the questions in the Greek text are not numbered, but keeping the PG chapter numbers makes it possible to locate quotations made according to those numbers. The PG column numbers are retained for the same reason.

Greek Usage of the Commentaries

The Greek of Symeon's writings is far from the elaborate classicism to be found in admirers of the ancient world such as Michael Psellus. The optative mood, for instance, occurs infrequently in the liturgical commentaries. Clear distinctions of meaning are not always observed between the aorist and the perfect participles in Symeon, and unusual verb forms are very rare; the most notable is *παριστᾶ* (E 39, E 59, L 70, L 123), in place of the classical form *παρίστησι*.

Iotacisms are practically nonexistent in Z, indicating that the scribe was well-read and knew the correct spelling of the words, even though by Symeon's time — as in modern Greek — a great number of vowels and diphthongs (e.g., *η*, *ι*, *υ*, *ει*, *οι*, et al.) were all pronounced /i/.

In Symeon's works the commonest word by far is *καί*, occurring hundreds of times, frequently over and over again in a single sentence. The effort has been made to translate Symeon's texts as they stand, but the repetitive *καί* has at times been ignored because to translate every occurrence would render the English version pointlessly tedious.

The style of the works is decidedly mixed. Much of Symeon's text, especially L, appears to have been composed rapidly and not revised stylistically.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, E 2–14 presents a general theology of the mysteries, or sacraments, which is relatively carefully crafted, and appears to have been constructed with some reflection. The beginning of L, sections 1–7, is similar. In the composition of much of the rest of the text, however, there are many signs of haste, such as the endless repetition of *καί*. Although not nearly so common as *καί*, Symeon also uses *διό* and *ὅθεν* ("because of which" or "therefore") with a tiresome frequency.

Seemingly a result of haste, two affirmative sentences are found in the later commentary, which appear to be intended to be negative. These are the opening lines of L 55 and the end of the second full sentence in L 113. Given the direction of the discussion, the sentences in the affirmative make little sense. Taken as negative sentences, they reinforce the argument Symeon is making. In both cases, the Greek text is made negative to

154 Cf. "Symeon as Commentator" above, pp. 23–26, on the order of the liturgy.

express what must have been Symeon's intended meaning. Footnotes indicate the shift and the reasoning behind it.

In our modern understanding of the term, Symeon is certainly a mystagogue, meaning a theologian who explains the meaning of the church's rites (see the foreword to the present volume). The *Patristic Greek Lexicon* divides the term *μυσταγωγία* into two headings: A) initiation and B) revelation or doctrine. Our modern sense of mystagogy clearly goes with the second sense, especially subheadings one, "explanation of a mystery," two, "institution of Christian mystery," and three, "spiritual teaching in general."¹⁵⁵ Interestingly, Symeon uses the term *μυσταγωγία* only three times in these two commentaries: E 1, E 12, L 73. His use of the term seems to indicate that he understands it to mean the correct Orthodox celebration of the rites in question, not the explanation of their spiritual or theological meaning (cf. E 12 and L 73).

One curious stylistic feature is that the author at certain points refers to himself in the singular (e.g., E 3, E 16, E 42, L 1, L 48, L 60) and in others employs plural forms instead (e.g., E 10, E 11, E 14, L 17, L 37, L 60). It would be tempting to suppose that the use of the singular marked the earlier text, when Symeon was still a priest, and the plural when he made the additions as archbishop. It is certainly possible that Symeon may have written an early version of E while he was a monk in Constantinople, before becoming archbishop of Thessalonika. However, since the same inconsistency occurs in L, which is surely from a later period, this idea is untenable. The inconsistency appears to be simply a feature of Symeon's style, possibly just another result of hasty writing. Indeed in one very short section, L 60, Symeon uses both singular and plural to refer to himself.

Symeon's vocabulary at times shifts. In the more general discussion in E, the archbishop uses the same term, *μερίς* ("particle" in contemporary liturgical English among both Orthodox and Byzantine Catholics), for the various small pieces of bread in the liturgy, including the consecrated bread for communion (E 95 and E 98). However in the later commentary he is preoccupied with making as strong as possible a distinction between the unconsecrated particles and the consecrated bread. The commemorative particles are in memory of one of the saints or in intercession for the living and the deceased. So in L, the term *μερίς* is used exclusively for the unconsecrated commemorative particles. Other terms are used for the consecrated bread, such as *ἡ σὰρξ δεσποτική* "the Lord's flesh" (L 91), *τὸ (θεῖον) σῶμα (τοῦ Χριστοῦ)* "the (divine)

body (of Christ)" (L 92, L 93, L 95), ὁ (ζωοποιῶς) ἄρτος "the (vivifying, divine) bread" (L 94), and τὸ τμήμα (τοῦ ἄρτου) "the section (of the bread)" (L 99).

For instance, the description of the embolism (placing the first piece of consecrated bread into the chalice) in L 99 is an exact parallel to E 95. In E, the piece of consecrated bread is called ἡ ἄνω μερίς, "the upper particle," the general and less specific term. In the later commentary, dealing more precisely with the distinctions, Symeon refers to the same piece of bread as τὸ ἄνω τμήμα, "the upper section," reserving the term μερίς exclusively for the commemorative particles.

Stylistics of the Present Translation

The present translation does not aim to be stylistically smooth. The principal effort has been to present a readable English translation which conveys the meaning of Symeon's text without improving Symeon's style, which is at times awkward, disjointed, and repetitious, or making more clear passages where Symeon himself is obscure.

Not surprisingly, Symeon employs an abundant theological vocabulary. I have used literal English equivalents for particular terms in Symeon wherever possible. For instance, Symeon's use of the terms εὐσεβής/εὐσέβεια ("pious," "piety") and δυσσεβής/δυσσέβεια ("impious," "impiety")¹⁵⁶ can appear strange to modern readers. Following Byzantine usage, εὐσεβής refers to Orthodox Christians, and δυσσεβής to the non-Orthodox. Some suggest that the terms should simply be translated "Orthodox" and "non-Orthodox," a policy not followed in the present translation. Symeon's understanding of religion and of God is a fundamental key to his worldview. It seems crucial to keep in mind his basic point that Orthodox Christians are by nature generally pious. By extension, others may well not be. At least Symeon did not consider non-Orthodox to be generally pious. For that reason, the literal translation is retained.

For the sake of consistency, ἱερός is always translated as "sacred," θεῖος as "divine," and ἅγιος as "holy" (or "saint" depending on the context) although there seems to be little distinction in Symeon's use of these words.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Εὐσεβής/εὐσέβεια (E 1, E 16, E 58, E 100, E 105, L 74, L 80–81, L 88, L 104, L 124, L 128, L 134): Lampe 575–576 § 5. Δυσσεβής (E 61, E 66, L 66): Lampe 393.

¹⁵⁷ ἱερός Liddell-Scott 822; Lampe 670–671. Θεῖος Liddell-Scott 788; Lampe 618–620. ἅγιος Liddell-Scott 9; Lampe 18–19.

The term ἱερουργία¹⁵⁸ and its cognates occur very frequently in Symeon. They refer to holy work and priestly functions. In this edition, they are rendered "sacred-service," because Symeon also uses these expressions to refer to Christ's life, death, and Resurrection, as well as to the act of consecrating the eucharist in the liturgy.

Much of Symeon's commentary amounts to a list of symbolic equivalents between liturgical actions, instruments, and persons, and what they represent. Here Symeon uses principally three Greek verbs to indicate the correspondence, the most common being δηλοῖ, translated here as "represents." Although not necessarily the most exact possible translation for each shade of the Greek verb δηλοῖ — "shows," "demonstrates," "manifests," or "reveals" would be, strictly speaking, more accurate — "represents" provides one English verb, which produces a comprehensible text, when rendering the various uses of δηλοῖ.¹⁵⁹ There is no essential difference between δηλοῖ, τυποῖ, and εἰκονίζει in Symeon's usage,¹⁶⁰ for the sake of consistency, the latter two are rendered "typifies" and "depicts" respectively.

Other terms are likewise synonyms, which have nearly or exactly the same meaning. In speaking of unseen spiritual realities, Symeon often uses both νοητός (E 17, E 51, E 104, E 108, L 126) and νοερός (E 32, L 86), both derived from the Greek νοῦς "mind." Although the words originally referred to intellectual concepts, as in L 35, in all the other cases Symeon is clearly not referring to mental realities, such as mathematical principles, but to spiritual theological realities of humans, angels, and their dealings with God. Although they are two distinct terms in Greek, both are translated "spiritual" since there is no clearly understandable English synonym.

Similarly, Symeon uses both ἐνανθρώπησις and σάρκωσις to describe God the Son taking on human nature as Jesus Christ. Commonly in English, both terms are translated "incarnation." The distinction in meaning does not seem to be significant, however Symeon does use both terms in the same sentence three times (E 40, L 38, L 108). Because of the roots used, σάρκωσις focuses on the physical corporality of being human, while ἐνανθρώπησις deals with the whole of humanity.¹⁶¹ In order to preserve the distinction between the terms, σάρκωσις is rendered "incarnation" and ἐνανθρώπησις "becoming human."

Unfortunately, such consistency simply will not work at times. The Greek word ναός is used both for the nave of the church and the church building as a whole. For the sake of clarity, the word needs to be trans-

158 ἱερουργία Lampe 671.

159 Δηλοῖ Liddell-Scott 385; Lampe 340.

160 Εἰκονίζει Lampe 409. Τυποῖ Lampe 1420.

161 Ἐνανθρώπησις Lampe 463. Σάρκωσις Lampe 1224.

lated "nave" and "temple," according to the context. Although Symeon generally used the expression *ἁγία τράπεζα* (or simply *τράπεζα*) to refer to the altar, he also uses the term *θυσιαστήριον*, which he sometimes uses to mean the sanctuary. Insisting on a single translation for these terms would only result in confusion. Lacking familiar English alternatives, both *θυσιαστήριον* (when it refers to the sanctuary) and *βῆμα* are translated "sanctuary." For the same reason, *ἀρχιερεύς*, *ιεράρχης*, and *ἐπίσκοπος* are all three rendered "bishop."

The bishop also uses both *προσκομιδή* and *πρόθεσις* to refer to the initial ritual, preparing the bread and the wine for the eucharistic service. The same word is also used for the table where the rite was performed. The word *προσκομιδή* can lead to confusion since it is the normal term in liturgical texts for the priestly prayer immediately before the anaphora. Consequently, both the rite and its location are translated "prothesis," with footnotes on the translation indicating when "prothesis" renders the Greek *προσκομιδή*.

Symeon uses the term *ἐπιπλον* (E 63) for the *aer*, the large eucharistic veil. The expression is unique to Symeon in surviving Byzantine texts.

On yet another essential point Symeon's Greek defies a consistent English translation. This is the problem of the various terms deriving from the root *τελε-* in Greek.¹⁶² These terms all derive originally from words for finality, completion, and perfection, but they also include notions of rite and consecration. It seems almost certain that Symeon

162 *Ἀτελεύτητος*, -ον ("unending") L 38–39; *ἐκτελέω* ("complete" *vb.*) E 77, E 86, E 90, L 8, L 25, L 53, L 82; *εὐτελῶς* ("in good order") L 24; *ὀλοτελής*, -ές ("perfect") E 24; *προτελέω* ("decease") E 100; *συντέλεια*, -ας, ἡ ("consummation") E 59; *τελειοποιέω* ("consecrate") E 79; *τελειοποιός*, -ή, -ον ("perfecting, consecrating, sanctifying") E 27, E 40, E 78; *τέλειος*, -α, -ον, *τέλεος* ("complete, consecrating, [actions] performed") E 16, E 30, E 61, E 97, L 28, L 35, L 37, L 39, L 40–41, L 55, L 58–59, L 62, L 99, L 138; *τελειόω* ("celebrate, consecrate") E 20, E 28, E 45, E 77, E 79, E 81, L 16, L 89, L 115; *τελείωσις*, -εως ἡ ("consecration, accomplishment") E 77, E 87, E 90, L 98; *τελειώτης*, -ου, ὁ ("accomplisher") E 45; *τελεστικός*, -ή, -όν, *τελεστικός*, -οῦ, ὁ ("consecratory, consecrator") E 27, E 87, E 89, L 6, L 16; *τελετάρχης*, -ου, ὁ, *τελετάρχης*, -εος ("the master of the rites") E 30, E 34, L 6; *τελεταρχικός*, -ή, -όν ("source of consecration") E 27; *τελετή*, -ῆς, ἡ ("rite, consecration") E 12, E 34, E 78, E 87–88, E 90, E 104–105, L 2, L 6, L 16, L 28, L 88, L 115, L 163–164; *τελευταίος*, -α, -ον ("final") E 25, E 45, E 63, E 70, E 93, L 14, L 23, L 81, L 89, L 110, L 158; *τελέω* ("celebrate, consecrate, make perfect, accomplish, complete, perform") E 1–2, E 5, E 9, E 11, E 15, E 22, E 27, E 39, E 41, E 44, E 46, E 61, E 65–66, E 68, E 72, E 75, E 78, E 85, E 91–92, E 101, E 107, L 7, L 26, L 28, L 30, L 41, L 45, L 50–53, L 56, L 59, L 63, L 73, L 77, L 88–89, L 93, L 101, L 106, L 112, L 114, L 128, L 156, L 159; *τέλος*, -εος, τὸ ("end, goal; finally") E 3, E 59, E 64, E 91, E 93, E 104, L 9, L 83, L 90, L 110, L 112–113, L 119, L 135, L 151, L 158, L 161.

understood these terms in mutually connected, reciprocally verifying ways. It would not be unfair to say that these terms constitute a key to Symeon's theology. Sadly, no equivalent English expressions will produce an intelligible version.

Inclusion of Modifications in the Text

All of Symeon's marginal and interlinear corrections and additions are incorporated into the text of the present edition and translation. The original, uncorrected scribal hand is indicated in the footnotes as Z¹, the later corrections almost certainly by Symeon himself are labeled Z². The Migne reading is indicated as "PG."

These corrected and added texts from Manuscript Zagora 23 are printed in italics in this edition, such as the lengthy addition L 93–103.

Numbered Reference Sections

For the sake of convenience in reference, the text has been divided into numbered sections. These are not paragraphs, such as in contemporary works in Western languages. Symeon did not organize his prose in paragraphs, i.e. in terms of units, each limited to one specific topic. Instead he tends to link his various arguments together, anticipating the following topic before concluding the previous one. He frequently begins various discussions with *διό* or *ὅθεν*, both signifying roughly "wherefore," meaning, "on account of what preceded, it follows that..." Thus the commentaries form a sort of unbroken flow with few clear breaks. Consequently, any division of the texts into reference sections is inevitably alien to Symeon's style and thought.

The need to refer to specific passages, however, renders the divisions in question indispensable. Two criteria have guided this division into sections: unity of subject and length. Continuous texts dealing with a single topic are in general contained within one section. This is admittedly a subjective criterion insofar as Symeon's style tends to be diffuse. I have also divided longer passages that would otherwise have remained connected, so that sections remain relatively brief.

Topic Headings

Topic headings have been inserted into the translation of the two works, ten in E and twelve in L. In L, these topic headings are somewhat problematic because section C on the prothesis, which comprises over half of the commentary, is interrupted by three extended excursus. Therefore,

six major sections of L are noted by letters of the alphabet, but the three excursus are so labeled without a letter of the alphabet as for the major sections. The continuing discussion of the prothesis following the excursus are simply entitled, "... Back to the Prothesis." Such divisions according to general topics can be useful in locating various arguments while working with the text, provided that one does not wholly depend on them. Symeon often discusses a number of issues at the same time; therefore his treatment of a given question may be found in a number of different places. The divisions and their titles can only be loose approximations. For instance, section 24 of E, the first part of which treats of the offerings brought to church, does not strictly belong to either section D ("Part One: The Temple") or E ("Part Two: Those Involved in the Liturgy and their Vestments"). Section 24 is included in division E because the latter part of the passage deals with the clergy.

Outline of the Commentaries

Explanation of the Divine Temple

A. Title

1. Title

B. Introduction: The Economy of Salvation

2. Love and the economy of salvation
3. God who came and gave Himself in Love
4. The example of baptism and chrism
5. God gives Himself in bread and wine
6. God in our midst to deify us
7. God illumines like the sun
8. The purpose of the incarnation: to "make us gods according to grace"
9. The church performs in rites all that God has done
10. God has not left us ignorant of His great mysteries

C. Introduction: God Revealed in the Tradition

11. God revealed in the unchanging tradition
12. We pray as did Dionysios, Basil and Chrysostom
13. The sacredness of the temple
14. Other fathers on the Divine Liturgy

D. Part One: The Temple

15. The divine house of the temple
16. The temple is twofold... or threefold
17. The symbolism of the sacred table, the curtain and the pillars
18. The altar coverings
19. The altar is of stone
20. The synthronon, the stairs, the Gospel book and the cross
21. The altar with relics, anointed with chrism, and covered
22. Those entering the sanctuary, the incense, the lights, the nave, and curtains at the door of the nave
23. The ambo and the beauty of the temple

E. Part Two: Those Involved in the Liturgy and their Vestments

24. Offerings and the clergy
25. The laity
26. The priest and the bishop
27. Those ordained in the sanctuary and the bishop as consecrator (τελεστικός)
28. The priest as illuminator (φωτιστικός)
29. The deacon as liturgic (λειτουργικός) and kathartic (καθαρτικός)
30. The vestments for each
31. The sticharion
32. The vestments and role of the deacon
33. The episcopal sticharion and the mandyas
34. The epitrachelion
35. The girdle
36. The epigonation
37. The cuffs
38. The phelonion
39. The bishop's sakkos and polystaurion
40. The omophorion
41. Celebrating bare-headed, unlike the Alexandrians
42. Are the Alexandrians ignoring ancient tradition? No

F. Part Three: The Enarxis of the Liturgy

43. The bishop's descent from his throne and vesting
44. The antiphons
45. The antiphons calling on the Mother of God, the saints, and Christ
46. The bishop in the nave and the priests' exit
47. The meaning of "Come, let us worship Christ"
48. The meaning of entering the sanctuary
49. Opening and closing the doors
50. Incensation of the holy table after the Little Entrance
51. The bishop blessing the Gospel with the dikirion
52. The meaning of the Trisagion hymn
53. The bishop blessing the Gospel with the trikirion

G. Part Four: The Liturgy of the Word

54. Taking his seat on the synthronon and blessing with the trikirion
55. Reading of the epistle
56. Alleluia and reading of the Gospel
57. Deacon holding the folded omophorion goes before the sacred gifts
58. The bishop descends and gives a three-fold blessing

- 59. The dismissal of the catechumens
- 60. Forbidding both the reception of *prosporas* from known sinners and the offering particles for them
- 61. Why we still have the dismissal of the catechumens

H. Part Five: The Liturgy of the Eucharist

- 62. The bishop washes his hands
- 63. The procession for the Great Entrance
- 64. The entrance into the sanctuary
- 65. Why the faithful prostrate themselves at the Great Entrance
- 66. Response to the accusation that this prostration is idolatry
- 67. Why the gifts on the altar are covered
- 68. The bishop requests the prayers of all
- 69. Blessing the people after the Great Entrance
- 70. Closing the doors after the blessing
- 71. The creed and the kiss of peace
- 72. The veil over the gifts during the creed
- 73. "Holy, holy, holy"
- 74. The words of institution
- 75. The *epiclesis*
- 76. Commemoration of the Mother of God and of the saints

Excursus: Consecration by Priestly Invocations

- 77. Response to those who do not accept that the gifts are consecrated by the *epiclesis*
- 78. Not only the *epiclesis*, but the *epiclesis* said by a priest
- 79. The priestly *epicleseis* in baptism and chrismation
- 80. Ordained by invocation of the Spirit, the priest possesses the power of invocation
- 81. Consecration of the bread and wine by priestly prayers and invocation of the Holy Spirit taught by Christ and the apostles
- 82. The elevation and the *epiclesis*
- 83. The words of institution are not consecratory because they are not accompanied by the sign of the cross
- 84. Again the *epiclesis*
- 85. That it is God who is active in the sacred-service
- 86. Christ performed the eucharist as a model for us
- 87. That the one who rejects priestly, consecratory prayers is no Christian
- 88. The one who rejects these prayers rejects communion and baptism
- 89. If one is a Christian, he must accept priestly, consecratory prayers
- 90. Condemnation of those who reject such prayers

...Back to the Liturgy of the Eucharist

91. Conclusion of the anaphora and pre-communion rites
92. The bishop assumes the omophorion, elevates the sacred bread and breaks it
93. "One is holy..."
94. The elevation
95. Placing the four divided parts on the diskos and placing one part in the chalice
96. The addition of hot water to the chalice
97. The addition of hot water even to the pre-sanctified gifts
98. The bishop cuts up the remaining particles, and receives communion first of the bread and then of the chalice
99. The bishop distributes the sacred bread
100. The laity receive communion
101. It is necessary to adore the gifts with great reverence from the end of communion until they are carried to the prothesis
102. Conclusion of communion and censation of the altar
103. The gifts are returned to the prothesis and the bishop exits to distribute the antidoron
104. The antidoron as blessed bread is participation in sanctification
105. (Conclusion) Consult the fathers for a more complete explanation

I. Final Notes

106. In the prothesis, the priest 1) offers bread, 2) mixes the chalice, 3) offers the particles
107. The particles are of great benefit to the worthy faithful commemorated
108. It is dangerous for the priest and for the persons concerned to commemorate either the non-Orthodox or known sinners
109. Commemorative particles for the non-Orthodox and known sinners are to their condemnation
110. The priest must be attentive to celebrate the sacred-service worthily

“On the Sacred Liturgy”

A. Opening Remarks

1. I, the bishop, am also learning from this discourse
2. After the anointing, I will now speak of the Divine Liturgy
3. I do not speak from of a sense of arrogance
4. We should reflect on these things as holy men have done before us
5. I have already discussed the Divine Liturgy in an earlier work
6. Titles of the eucharist
7. How can I manage to succeed in such an awesome task?

B. Vesting of the Bishop and the Priest

8. The hierarch descends and makes three reverences
9. The hierarch puts on seven vestments
10. The sticharion
11. The mandyas
12. The meaning of the “potamoi” on the episcopal sticharion and the mandyas
13. The “potamoi” as gifts of the Spirit
14. The enkolpion and the staff
15. The lamps that precede the bishop
16. The bishop as consecrator (τελεστικός)
17. The sticharion represents incorruption
18. The epitachelion represents God’s grace from on high
19. The girdle typifies strength
20. The epigonation, like a sword, signifies victory over death
21. The cuffs represent God’s universal effectiveness
22. The phelonion as the cloak worn during the Passion
23. The omophorion symbolizes saving the sheep gone astray
24. The bishop, when vested, blesses the other ministers
25. A priest requests the bishop’s blessing before performing the prothesis
26. Having received the bishop’s blessing, the priest proceeds to begin the prothesis
27. First the priest vests himself
28. The priest as illuminator (φωτιστικός) has five vestments
29. The epigonation and other special designations

C. The Prothesis

30. Beginning the prothesis
31. Removing the central portion of the bread
32. The symbolism of the diskos and the asterisk
33. Incising a cross on the underside of the bread
34. Piercing the top of the bread and pouring wine and water into the chalice

Excursus: Bread Must be Leavened and Square, Unlike That of the Latins

35. Leavened bread is offered because it is "living"
36. The bread is made of three ingredients (cf. the Trinity) and baked
37. The bread is four-part, like the earth and like the cross
38. It is not round (an indication of divinity) because here Christ's humanity is being proclaimed
39. Those things the Savior suffered are performed on the bread
40. We must make plain Christ's humanity, as well as His divinity
41. Christ was fully God and fully man
42. The Latins, quoting St. Paul, say we should celebrate with unleavened bread
43. As St. Paul says, we reject the leaven of malice and fornication
44. The quotation from St. Paul refers to the rejection of sin
45. The meaning of "the kingdom of God is like leaven"
46. The Savior as leaven
47. Be leavened in the Lord, a part of the leaven of the kingdom of heaven, but not of the unleavened bread of the Jewish law
48. If you employ unleavened bread, you may as well be circumcised and keep the Jewish sabbath
49. We, on the other hand, have the Lamb of God
50. If you say that Jesus celebrated the Jewish Pascha...
51. The Gospel says that it was not yet the time of the Jewish Pascha
52. It does not say "unleavened bread" and Jesus says He "earnestly desired" to eat this Pascha with the disciples — not the Jewish one
53. Even if earlier He had performed the Jewish Pascha, later He performed His own
54. The Jewish law was already superseded and invalid
55. As the fathers teach, we should do what is above and beyond the law
56. We are free from the law by the blood of Christ
57. So, clearly this is not the Jewish Pascha; nor should we receive only the bread
58. We celebrate as Christ celebrated the sacred-service
59. The sacred-service is performed with complete, not unleavened, bread; Christ was not celebrating the Jewish Pascha because of the common dish
60. I wish to celebrate with Christ now and in the age to come

...Back to the Prothesis

- 61. Remark from the cleric
- 62. Let us continue
- 63. Complete bread to represent Christ's complete humanity; wine and water to represent the blood and water from His side

Excursus: The Chalice Must be Mixed, Not like That of the Armenians

- 64. The Armenians reject this teaching of the Gospel
- 65. There must be both wine and water
- 66. Not water alone...
- 67. Nor wine alone...
- 68. Fruit of the vine means wine, so there must be wine
- 69. Blood and water from the side of Christ means there must be both wine and water
- 70. The liturgies of both Chrysostom and Basil explicitly mention wine and water
- 71. The liturgy of James also mentions the mixed chalice
- 72. This is a universal tradition of the Church
- 73. The Church councils have sanctioned this practice
- 74. It is held in Constantinople...
- 75. ...and in other ancient places — even Rome — by agreed tradition
- 76. The apostles resolved disputes by common decision
- 77. Judas' successor was chosen by the apostles as a group
- 78. The Armenians have no authority to support their practice

...Back to the Prothesis

- 79. The priest cuts a particle out of the second prosphora in memory of the Mother of God
- 80. Particles for the saints from other prosphoras: the angels, ...
- 81. ...the prophets and St. John the Baptist, the apostles, the holy hierarchs, the holy monastics, the saint of the day, Basil/Chrysostom, all saints together
- 82. One must commemorate not only the Lord, but those who accompanied Him...
- 83. ...and who carried on His work
- 84. The particles are in place of those commemorated
- 85. The particles are transformed neither into the body of the Lord nor into the bodies of the saints commemorated
- 86. The commemorative particles pass on holiness to the people named; those for the saints pass on holiness to us
- 87. As Mary is eternally close to her Son, so her particle is close to the bread

88. The priest also offers particles for the bishop and the emperor; in a monastic setting, for the superior of the monastery and the monks...
89. ...in a secular setting, for the founder of the church, those present, the deceased, the offerer, the one for whom it is offered, all monastic and priestly deceased, all Orthodox deceased, whomever the priest wishes, and for all Orthodox Christians
90. He adds a final prayer at the end of the commemorations

Excursus: Communion and the Commemorative Particles

91. Communion should come from the bread, now the body of the Lord, not the particles
92. Still, true communion is received even from the particles, since they are united to the body and blood of the Lord
93. *According to ancient tradition one should receive from the body, not from the particles*
94. *The ordained receive in the sanctuary directly*
95. *The laity once received directly, but do so now by means of a spoon*
96. *As the fathers say, we also believe that the particles are not transformed*
97. *The liturgical texts and practices presuppose that only the breads are consecrated*
98. *The second prosphora, out of which comes the particle for the Mother of God, is not consecrated and is not antidoron*
99. *Particles are not kept for liturgies of the presanctified, nor are they "entrusted" to the newly ordained at ordination*
100. *Deacons are not to make offerings; the bread and wine as truly the body and blood of Christ*
101. *The clergy are commemorated*
102. *The sanctification of communion for all*
103. *As the particles are in communion with the body and blood, he who communicates from them communicates in Christ*

... Back to the Prothesis

104. On the diskos we see Christ and the Church
105. One must commemorate neither unbelievers nor non-Orthodox
106. Offering of incense at the end of the prothesis
107. The asterisk represents the star over Bethlehem at the Nativity
108. The priest places the veils on the diskos and the chalice
109. The meaning of the chalice veil
110. The priest places the aer over both the diskos and the chalice
111. The priest censes the gifts and says the concluding prayer
112. The censuring of the sanctuary
113. The bishop is the beginning and end of the censings

- 114. What the ministers do at the prothesis
- 115. Deacons do not make offerings on their own
- 116. This practice occurs on Athos and used to occur in Thessalonika

D. The Enarxis

- 117. The bishop signifies to the first of the deacons when the liturgy is to begin
- 118. The bishop typifies the Lord and those with him, the angels
- 119. The sanctuary typifies heaven
- 120. The bishop's "descent to the west" represents the incarnation
- 121. Three antiphons are sung in honor of the Trinity
- 122. The priests leaving the sanctuary represent the angelic orders
- 123. Rising after they bow, the priests and bishop typify the Resurrection
- 124. Entering the sanctuary, the bishop typifies Christ
- 125. The doors, closed before, are opened now to the bishop as to Christ
- 126. The bishop while censuring represents Christ, slain yet living
- 127. The bishop's seat on the synthronon represents the throne of Christ at the right hand of the Father in heaven
- 128. Then follows the acclamation of emperors and bishops
- 129. The bishop blesses the Gospel first with the dikirion and then with the trikirion

E. The Liturgy of the Word

- 130. As Christ sits at the right hand of the Father, so the bishop takes his seat on the throne
- 131. The epistle is read
- 132. After the alleluia, the Gospel is read
- 133. The bishop blesses the reader both before and after
- 134. The bishop descends from the synthronon
- 135. Then the catechumens are dismissed

F. The Liturgy of the Eucharist

- 136. Christ, as the heavenly bread, is escorted in procession to the altar at the Great Entrance
- 137. Then the doors are closed because the mysteries are not to be seen by all
- 138. The doors are opened at the profession of faith
- 139. The bishop approaches and receives communion first
- 140. All the non-ordained receive communion outside the sanctuary
- 141. The kiss with the profession of faith represents agreement in faith
- 142. Then the sacred-service is performed by invocation of the Holy Spirit

143. Following the sacred-service, the commemoration of the saints
144. The bishop prays for the grace of sonship
145. Then the bread is elevated and broken
146. The exclamation "holy things for the holy" represents the holiness of Christ
147. We are sanctified and saved by Christ's sacrifice
148. It was senseless for Adam and Eve to seek to become gods
149. He who is indivisible is broken into pieces for our sake
150. A piece of the bread is placed in the chalice, for Christ is one
151. Then, communion — the goal of the whole liturgy — takes place in the order of rank
152. The bishop receives communion directly and the others in the sanctuary from him
153. The rest of the bread is placed in the chalice in order to communicate the laity with the spoon
154. The bishop or priest communicates the laity
155. First, the subdeacons receive, then the readers and monks, then the rest of the laity
156. They receive communion outside the sanctuary from the communion spoon, not in their hands
157. Then the bishop blesses the people and censes the gifts on the altar before removing them to the prothesis
158. The second priest exits and reads the prayer behind the ambo
159. Having folded the eileton and deposited the Gospel, the bishop goes out to distribute the antidoron
160. The antidoron is blessed bread
161. Finally the bishop dismisses the people
162. The choir sings, praying for the emperors and bishops
163. Such is the great rite of the sacred-service
164. Concluding remark of thanks from the cleric

Editorial Sigla and Disposition of the Text

add	Text or word present in witness named, not in this edition
cent.	Century
marg.	Text or word in the margin
om.	Text or word absent in witness named, present in this edition
PG	Patrologia Graeca. Unless otherwise noted, refers to 155:253-304 (L) or 155:697-749 (E)
Z	Zagora (Greece), Zagora Public Library, Manuscript 23
Z ¹	The earlier scribal hand in brown-black ink
Z ²	Later additions, corrections, and modifications in red-brown ink, most likely by St. Symeon of Thessalonika
A] B	In place of A, read B
§	Cf. other passages on the same or related points

Iotacisms, which are very few, are corrected without indication.

The leftmost columns of verso pages contain the marginal questions in Z and the references to Z and to PG.

The rightmost columns of recto pages contain the translations of the marginal questions in Z, incorporated by PG into the text as chapter titles. The questions in the English translation retain their PG "chapter" numbers.

Passages in italics are absent from PG.

ST. SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA

Ερμηνεία περὶ τοῦ θείου ναοῦ

Explanation of the Divine Temple

ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ

Z f 175, l. 1
PG 155:697

1. ¹Ἑρμηνεία πονηθεῖσα τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Θεσσαλονίκης κυρίῳ Συμεῶν² περὶ τε τοῦ θείου ναοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἱερέων τε πέρι καὶ διακόνων, ἀρχιερέων τε καὶ τῶν ὧν ἕκαστος τούτων στολῶν ἱερῶν περιβάλλεται, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας λόγον ἐκάστῳ διδοῦσα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τελουμένων θείως, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐσεβέσι ζητήσασιν ἀποσταλεῖσα.

2. Ἐξ ἀγάπης θείας κεκινημένοι πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν τί ποτε δηλοῦσι τὰ σύμβολα τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ συνάξει τελουμένων, καὶ τί τὰ ἱερὰ σημαίνουσιν ἄμφια, ἐν ἀγάπῃ δέξασθε καὶ τοὺς κατὰ δύναμιν παρ' ἡμῶν περὶ τούτων λόγους, οὓς καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀγάπῃ θαρροῦντες ποιούμεθα, καὶ μάλιστα γε ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων τῆς αὐτοαγάπης Θεοῦ· ὃς τοσοῦτον «ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς» ὥς γέγραπται «ὥστε τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν³ μονογενῆ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔδωκεν».

3. Ἦλθεν οὖν οὗτος ἐν ἀγάπῃ, καὶ ὁ πανταχοῦ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν· καὶ βρέφος ἐκ παρθένου τεχθεὶς, καὶ τὰς ἡλικίας ἀμείψας, ἴν' ὅλος⁴ ἐγὼ καθαρθῶ, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων αὐτοῦ καθαγιασθῶ, τέλος καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμοὶ εἰς κοινωνίαν δέδωκεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῇ ἀπαρχῇ μὲν ἠνώθη μοι, ἣν προσεῖληφεν ἐκ παρθένου, ἀνάγκη δ' ἦν τὴν ἔνωσιν πρακτικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας διαβῆναι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀναπλασθῆναι με καὶ ζῆσαι. «Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ φάγητε» φησί «τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Υἱοῦ /τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ πῖντε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς», καὶ «ἐγὼ ζῶ, καὶ ὁ τρώγων με ζήσεται δι' ἐμέ». τοῦτο τοῖς μυστηρίοις διέπραξεν ἀγαθῶς.

PG 700

1 Τοῦ Συμεῶν Θεσσαλονίκης· Καλλινίκου Πατριάρχου καὶ ἀφιερῶθη εἰς τὸ σχολεῖον Ζ<αγοράς> upper marg. (18th cent.) Z. 2 Ἑρμηνεία... Συμεῶν] τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἑρμηνεία PG. 3 τὸν om. PG. 4 ὅλος PG.

EXPLANATION OF THE DIVINE TEMPLE

<A. Title>

1. An explanation¹ composed by the most holy archbishop of Thessalonika Lord Symeon concerning the divine temple and what pertains to it, and also concerning the priests, deacons, and bishops, and the sacred vestments worn by each, as well as the divine mystagogy, giving an account of each of the rites divinely carried out. <This explanation> was sent to the pious² people of Crete, who requested it.

<B. Introduction: The Economy of Salvation>

2. By divine love you have been moved to learn what the symbols of the rites carried out in the divine synaxis represent, and what the sacred vestments mean. In love, then, receive from us our explanations of them which we make according to our ability encouraged by the love of the Spirit and, above all, for the sake of God's greatest act, God who is absolute love. He "so loved us," as it is written, "that He gave His only-begotten Son for us."³

3. Therefore He came in love, and He who is everywhere dwelt among us.⁴ Being born as an infant of a virgin, and having transcended time, He finally gave Himself to me in communion, so that I be purified, and so that through His works and words I be sanctified. For since He was united to me by His birth, which He received from a virgin, it was necessary that this unity should also pass on actively to all believers. For this is what it means for me to be refashioned and to live. For "if you do not eat," He says, "the flesh of the son of man, and drink His blood, you have no life in you";⁵ and, "I live, and he who eats me will live through me."⁶ This He has in His goodness brought to pass through the mysteries.

1 Or "interpretation." Cf. ἐρμηνεία in Liddell-Scott 690; Lampe 549.

2 I.e., Orthodox. In Byzantine usage, the terms εὐσέβεια and εὐσεβής (lit. "piety" and "pious") indicate Orthodoxy and Orthodox persons and practices. Cf. Lampe § 5, 575-576; discussion above, p. 63.

3 Jn 3:16.

4 Jn 1:14.

5 Jn 6:53.

6 Jn 6:57.

Τί τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ
ἱερὸν ἐνεργεῖ;

Τί τὸ μύρον τὸ
ἅγιον;

4. Καὶ δὴ τῷ βαπτίσματι μὲν ἀναγεννᾷ, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπαθὴ διδούς γέννησιν, τῇ ἐπιθέσει δὲ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ἐμπνεύσει τὴν τοῦ μύρου χάριν ἐντίθησιν. ὁ δὲ μύρον αὐτός ἐστι. «Μύρον» γὰρ φησιν «ἐκκενωθὲν ὀνομά» σοι· χρίσας μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὡς Θεός, χρισθεὶς δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπος. διὸ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγαθῶς χρίων, ἡμῖν παρέχει τὴν εὐώδη καὶ ζῶσαν τοῦ Πνεύματος δύναμιν.

f 175v

5. Τρίτον δὲ καὶ || μέγιστον ἀπάντων δίδωσι τὸ μετέχειν ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ τῇ παραδόσει τῶν μυστηρίων παρέδειξεν. ἔλαβε γὰρ ἄρτον καὶ ἱερούργησε, καὶ ποτήριον ὁμοίως. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔφη «Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου»· τὸ δὲ «Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου». καὶ οὐχ ἱερούργησε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐκάλεσε. «Λάβετε» γὰρ, «φάγετε» φησὶ «καὶ πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες». καὶ οὐ τότε μόνον τοῦτο πεποίηκεν αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν οἰκείων μέχρι παντός τελεῖσθαι παρέδωκε. «Τοῦτο» γὰρ φησὶ «ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν».

6. Καὶ εἰκότως· εἰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτός ἡμῖν παραπλησίως σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος κεκοινώνηκε, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὦφθη, Θεὸς ὢν ἀναλλοίωτος, σκοπὸς δὲ τὸ θεώσεως αὐτοῦ μετασχεῖν ἡμᾶς, τῷ θειοτάτῳ τούτῳ τρόπῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον πεποίηκεν, οἷς τρεφόμεθα καὶ

4. Indeed by baptism He gives us a new birth by bestowing His own passionless⁷ birth upon us, while through the imposition of hands and inspiration, He who indeed Himself is chrism, infuses the grace of chrism. For, "Your name is chrism poured out";⁸ as God He anointed Himself, but as man He was anointed. Therefore, by bountifully anointing us as well, He provides us the fragrant and living power of the Spirit.

5. Thirdly and greatest of all, He grants that we may partake of Him, and He provided this through the transmission of the mysteries. For He took bread and did the sacred-service,⁹ and the chalice likewise. He said, "This is my body";¹⁰ and then, "This is my blood." Nor did He merely do the sacred-service, but also summoned to communion. For He said, "Take, eat" and "drink of this all of you."¹¹ He did this not only then, by Himself, but through His companions He also passed it on to be carried out forever. For He said, "Do this in remembrance of me."¹²

6. And fittingly so. For if in a similar manner He Himself both gave us a share in communion of His body and blood, and also, though unchangeably God, was seen to be man, like us so that we might share in His deification,¹³ He acted in this manner, most divine and beyond reason,

⁷ This term could also conceivably be translated "impassible," provided that one keeps in mind the theological sense of the term. Cf. Liddell-Scott 174-175; Lampe 171-172.

⁸ Prayer of inclination in administering chrismation: *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 158; *L'Eucologio Barberini Gr.* 336, ed., intro., notes, and Italian trans. by Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska (Rome, 2000) 145; cf. Cant 1:3.

⁹ I.e., He consecrated the bread and wine. Cf. *ἱερουργέω/ἱερουργία*, Liddell-Scott 823; Lampe 671; and in "Stylistics of the Present Translation" above, p. 64.

¹⁰ Symeon uses the synoptic phrasing (Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου) found in older Byzantine liturgical texts (e.g., *Barberini* 336, Parenti-Velkovska 77) instead of the Pauline text (Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμά, 1 Cor 11:24). The Pauline phrasing eventually becomes dominant and is found in the modern *textus receptus* (Brightman 385, 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 63, 88). Cf. Stefano Parenti, "Osservazioni sul testo dell'anafora di Giovanni Crisostomo in alcuni eucologi italo-greci (VIII-XI secolo)," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 105 (1991) 149-150.

¹¹ CHR: Brightman 385-386; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 63. BAS: Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 88; cf. Mt 26:26-27, Mk 14:22-24, Lk 22:17-20, 1 Cor 11:24-25.

¹² BAS (not in CHR): Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 88; cf. Lk 22:19, 1 Cor 11:24-25.

¹³ Cf. Heb 2:14.

οἷς ποτιζόμεθα ἑαυτὸν καταμίξας, πανταχοῦ ὦν, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τῇ θεϊκῇ μεταβάλλων αὐτοῦ δυνάμει, παντοδύναμος ὦν.

7. Διὰ τούτων οὖν⁵ ἡμῖν ἀνακιρνᾶται καὶ ἀναμίγνυται καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ὦν ἡμῖν ἐπιλάμπει, ἀναλόγως τῇ καθαρότητι τὰς ἐλλάμψεις παρέχων. καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὡς ἥλιος ἐνεργεῖ, τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἐντιθεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ καθαρὰ καθαίρει καὶ δεκτικὰ φωτὸς ἀπεργάζεται.

8. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς ἱερουργίας μυστήριον, καὶ τοῦτο πέρας τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' αὐτῆς γὰρ Θεοῦ κοινωνοὶ γινόμεθα, καὶ κατὰ χάριν θεοί, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία τὴν σπουδὴν πρὸς τοῦτο μείζονα καὶ θειοτέραν ἔχει.

9. Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ παρέλαβεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηνεκῶς ἐνεργεῖ, καὶ διὰ συμβόλων ἱερῶν διδάσκει τὰ ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν-
τηλικαύτης δὲ μετέλαβε δόξης καὶ τὰ ὁρατῶς ἐνεργούμενα, ὅτι πᾶσιν εἰσι θαυμαστά. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ νοῦς ἀπάντων πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν διαβαίνει τῶν τελουμένων· ὅθεν καὶ διαποροῦσι πολλοί, καὶ τοὺς τούτων ζητοῦσι λόγους· καὶ πάντως ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἔννοιάν ἐστι τὰ τελούμενα, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπινος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀγγελικὸς || ἂν ἐξισχύσειε νοῦς πῶς Θεοῦ σάρκωσις, ἢ πῶς Θεοῦ κοινωνία διδάξαι, ἢ τί τῶν ὅσα ἡ ἐκκλησία κηρύττει τε καὶ διενεργεῖ.

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mingling Himself, though He is everywhere, with the things which we eat and which we drink, changing the bread and the chalice into body and blood by His divine power, inasmuch as He is all-powerful.

7. Through these <mysteries>, then, He is mingled and mixed with us, and He shines upon us, being the sun of righteousness¹⁴ providing illumination commensurate to the purity. And He does not work simply like the sun, merely infusing its rays, but He also purifies that which is not pure and makes it capable of receiving light.

8. Such, then, is the mystery of the sacred-service, and this is the consummation of God's becoming human,¹⁵ for through it we become partakers of God¹⁶ and gods according to grace, and Christ's Church has greater and more godly zeal for this.

9. Therefore the Church constantly enacts what it has received from the beginning and through sacred symbols teaches what is beyond understanding and even the things that are enacted visibly have participated in such great glory, that they are marvelous to all. But the mind of all <persons> does not attain an understanding of the rites; therefore many are at a loss and seek reasons for them. In fact the rites are beyond all understanding, and no intelligence — either human or angelic — could explain God's incarnation,¹⁷ or the manner of communion with God, or all that the Church proclaims and enacts.

⁴ Mal 4:2.

¹⁵ Or "incarnation." Cf. ἐνανθρώπησις from ἐνανθρωπέω, Liddell-Scott 554: "to put on human nature"; Lampe 462–463: "A. become human, become incarnate; B. be man, be incarnate." ἐνανθρώπησις, Lampe 463: "incarnation, (Christ's) incarnate life, incarnate nature, humanity." The term is translated in the same way in E 40, E 51, and E 74, as well as in L 9, L 10, L 38, L 81, and L 108. Translating ἐνανθρώπησις as "becoming human" and σάρκωσις as "incarnation" preserves the distinction between these two Greek terms in Symeon's writing.

¹⁶ Cf. 2 Pet 1:4.

¹⁷ Or "taking flesh." Cf. σάρκωσις, Liddell-Scott 1585: "growth of flesh, fleshiness"; Lampe 1224: "taking flesh, incarnation." The present translation renders σάρκωσις as "incarnation" (with "taking flesh" as an alternative in the notes) as in E 40, E 43, E 44, E 52, E 56, E 86, L 24, L 32, L 38, L 108, and L 118 to preserve the Greek distinction in Symeon's writing between ἐνανθρώπησις and σάρκωσις. Both terms are commonly translated "incarnation" in English, cf. Lampe 1224.

PG 701

10. Πλὴν οὐ καθ'όλου ἡμᾶς ἀμυήτους ἀφήκεν εἶναι περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνατόν εἰδέναι, καὶ καθόσον ζητεῖν εὐρίσκειν, καὶ ἐν περινοίᾳ γίνεσθαι τῶν ἐκείνου, παρέσχεν ἡμῖν ἀφορμὰς, ἐπεὶ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ταῦτα πέπρακται. καθόσον οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐδυνήθημεν γνῶναι, καὶ καθόσον ἡμῖν ἐδόθη, ἐλαχίστοις γε οὔσι καὶ ταπεινοῖς, περὶ ὧν ἠρωτήσατε, νομίσαντες ἡμᾶς εἶναι τι, λέγομεν ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐκ τῶν πατέρων τὰ πλείω συλλέξαντες.

11. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν παραδεδομένων καινότερον ἄλλο παρ' ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂν παρελάβομεν ἡλλοιώσαμεν, τετηρήκαμεν δέ, ὡς καὶ τὸ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον· ὅθεν ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐδόθη καὶ τῶν πατέρων, οὕτω τὴν ἱερουργίαν τελοῦμεν· καὶ ὡς μὲν ὁ Κύριος ἱερούργησε μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ὧν, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον κλάσας καὶ αὐτοῖς μεταδούς καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ποιεῖ, τοῦ ἱεράρχου μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἱερουργοῦντος, καὶ πᾶσι μεταδιδόντος, ἢ καὶ ἱερέως μετὰ λοιπῶν.

12. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων μαρτυρεῖ διάδοχος, ὁ ἱερός φημι Διονύσιος, οὕτω διδάσκων ἱερουργεῖν ὡς ἡμεῖς. καὶ οἱ θεηγόροι δὲ Βασίλειος καὶ Χρυσόστομος, τὴν τῆς μυσταγωγίας πλατύτερον ἐκθέμενοι τάξιν, οὕτω παραδεδώκασιν ἐνεργεῖν ὡς ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησία· καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτῶν αἱ εἰς τὴν ἱερουργίαν εὐχαί, τὴν πρώτην τε καὶ δευτέραν εἰσοδὸν ἐκδιδάσκουσαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς τελετῆς.

10. Yet God has not left us completely uninstructed¹⁸ concerning things about Him, but He has provided us with the means to know as much as possible, and insofar as to seek <is> to find and to come to an understanding of His works, since it was for us that He has done these things. Insofar, then, as we have been able to understand, and insofar as it has been granted us — least and humble as we are — having gathered together most of what we know from the fathers, we speak in love concerning the things about which you have asked, since you consider us worthy.

<C. Introduction: God Revealed in the Tradition>

11. For we propose nothing newer than what is handed down by tradition, nor have we changed what we received; rather, we have preserved it as <we have> the profession of faith. Therefore, as handed down by the Savior Himself, by the apostles and by the fathers, so also we perform the sacred-service. As the Lord did the sacred-service with the disciples, breaking the bread, giving it to them along with the chalice, so the Church also does, when the hierarch does the sacred-service with the priests, or a priest with others, and distributes it to all.

12. The successor of the apostles, the sacred Dionysios, § L 4 testifies to this,¹⁹ teaching that the sacred-service be done as we do. The God-inspired Basil and Chrysostom,²⁰ having set forth the order of the mystagogy more fully, have handed down that it should be carried out as our Church does. Their prayers for the sacred-service bear witness, expounding on the first and second entrances and the rest of the sacred rite.

¹⁸ Lit., "uninitiated." Cf. ἀμύητος, Liddell-Scott (ἀμνησία/ἀμύητος) 87; Lampe 92.

¹⁹ Pseudo-Dionysios, *Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας*, Greek text in *Corpus Dionysiacum*, vol. 2, ed. by Günter Heil (Berlin, 1991) 61–132 (PG 3:369–569); English trans., "The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy" in *The Complete Works*, trans. by Colm Luibhéid (New York, 1987) 193–259.

²⁰ In L 68 Symeon refers to Chrysostom's opposition to the Hydroparastatae (Υδροπαραστάται) in his homilies. Otherwise Symeon is referring to the texts he knew of the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (CHR) and that of St. Basil the Great (BAS).

f 176v

13. Καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν δὲ ναὸν οὐ βατὸν τοῖς πᾶσι παραδιδόασιν οἱ πατέρες, ἀλλ' ἄξιον εὐλαβείας, καὶ μάλιστα δὲ τὸ φορικτὸν θυσιαστήριον· καὶ ἄδηλον ὡς ἔξω βάλλουσι τοὺς κατηχουμένους. καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς δὲ Ἀμβρόσιος καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐξώθησε τὸν Θεοδόσιον βασιλέα· καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις δὲ Γρηγόριος ὁ διάλογος οὐ μόνον δι' ἐνζύμου ἄρτου τὴν θυσίαν προσφέρεισθαι μαρτυρεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αἰδοῦς τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἄγει ναοὺς, μὴδὲ ἥ λείψανα ἀφιεῖς τοῦ τυχόντος ἐν αὐτοῖς καταθάπτεσθαι.

14. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἰσίδωρος ὁ⁶ τοῦ Πηλουσίου, ἀρχαῖος ὢν τῶν πατέρων, ἐν πολλαῖς αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς λειτουργίας σαφέστερον ἐκδιδάσκων φαίνεται. καὶ ὁ τὰ θεῖα δὲ σοφὸς Μάξιμος ἅπαν ἐκτίθησι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, ὅπερ ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησία διενεργεῖ, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ γινομένων τοὺς λόγους ἐφερμηνεύει. ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς πατέρων ἐρανισαίμενοι, καὶ εἰ τί περ ἄλλο παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἔγνωμεν, γράφομεν ὑμῖν, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ θαρρήσαντες χάριτι.

Τί ἐστὶν ὁ θεῖος
ναός;

PG 704

15. Καὶ δὴ πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ φημὲν οἴκου. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὄργανον ἱερουργίας ναὸς τε καὶ ἱερεὺς, ὁ μὲν ἱερουργῶν, ὁ δὲ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἔχων, καὶ περὶ ἀμφοτέρων προσήκόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν. ὁ ναὸς τοίνυν, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ὑλῶν συγκείμενός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπερκόσμιον ἔχει χάριν· τελεῖται γὰρ παρ' ἀρχιερέως εὐχαῖς μυστικαῖς, καὶ θεῖῳ χρίεται μύρω καὶ κατοικητήριον ὅλος Θεοῦ καθίσταται, καὶ οὐ πάντα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔχει βατά, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῦσι, τὰ δὲ λαϊκοῖς.

Διὰ τί διπλοῦς ὁ
ναός;

16. Εἰκονίζει δὲ οὗτος διπλοῦς ὢν διὰ τῶν ἀδύτων καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς καὶ⁷ α') Χριστὸν αὐτὸν διπλοῦν ὄντα, Θεὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀόρατον, τὸ δὲ ὄρατόν,

13. The fathers also hand down that the sacred temple is not accessible to all, but is to be kept in great reverence, especially the awe-inspiring sanctuary. It is clear that they dismiss the catechumens from it. The sacred Ambrose cast the Emperor Theodosios out of both the temple and the sanctuary.²¹ St. Gregory²² the Dialogist testifies not only that the sacrifice is to be offered with leavened bread,²³ but also treats the sacred temples with respect, not allowing the remains of any ordinary person to be buried in them.²⁴

14. Also the great Isidore of Pelousion, one of the ancient fathers, in many of his letters is known to have expounded on the order of our liturgy more clearly. And Maximos, wise in divine things, sets out the whole mystery of the sacred liturgy as our Church carries it out, and explains in detail what is accomplished therein. Borrowing, then, from these latter as from fathers, and also whatever else we have learned from those before us, we write to you encouraged by God's grace.

<D. Part One: The Temple>

15. First of all, we speak of the divine house. For since both the temple and the priest are instruments of the sacred-service, the one doing the sacred-service and the other containing the sanctuary, it is fitting to speak of both of them. Thus, although the temple consists of worldly material, it nevertheless possesses otherworldly grace, for it is consecrated by the bishop with mystical prayers and anointed with divine chrism, and the whole of it is made into the abode of God. All of it is not accessible to all: one part is for the priests, the other part for the laity.

<3.> What is the divine temple?

16. Being twofold, with a sanctuary and an outer part, the temple depicts 1) Christ Himself who is twofold, being at the same time God and man, invisible and visible

<4.> Why is the temple twofold?

21 *Synaxarium* 284; PG 82:1236A–1237B; and Theodoret *Kirchengeschichte*, 5:18 (pp. 311–313); English trans. in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 3:144–145. For this and other references to Gregory as well as references to Isidore and Maximus in section 14, cf. discussion in "Symeon's Use of Sources" above, pp. 34–39.

22 Lit. "the <one> among the saints Gregory the Dialogist."

23 Possibly a reference to Gregory, *Dialogues* 1:11; SC 260:110–112 (PG 77:212AB).

24 Cf. Gregory, *Dialogues* 4:53–56; SC 265:176–184 (PG 77:412C–416D).

καὶ β') ἄνθρωπον ὁμοίως, ἐκ ψυχῆς ὄντα καὶ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ γ') τὸ τῆς Τριάδος μυστήριον ἐξαιρέτως, ἥτις ἀπρόσιτος μὲν τῇ οὐσίᾳ, γινωσκομένη δὲ τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν· ἰδίᾳ δὲ δ') τὸν ὁρώμενον ἐκτυποῖ κόσμον καὶ τὸν ἀόρατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ε') τὸν ὁρώμενον τοῦτον μόνον, τὸν οὐρανὸν μὲν διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος, τὰ περίγεια δὲ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ναοῦ. καὶ κατ' ἄλλον δὲ σκοπὸν ὁ θεὸς ἅπας ναὸς τριαδικῶς θεωρεῖται, ς') πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ φημί, καὶ τῷ ναῷ, καὶ τῷ βήματι· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν Τριάδα σημαίνει, καὶ τὰς τάξεις τῶν ἄνω τριαδικῶς τεταγμένας, καὶ τοὺς δήμους τῶν εὐσεβῶν εἰς τριάδα διαιρουμένους, ἱερέων⁸ λέγω, καὶ πιστῶν τελείων, καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐν μετανοίᾳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ζ') τὰ ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ὑπεράνω || τῶν οὐρανῶν, τοῦ θεοῦ ναοῦ τοῦτο διδάσκει τὸ σχῆμα· καὶ νάρθηκες⁹ μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ναὸς δὲ τὸν οὐρανόν, τὰ ὑπερουράνια δὲ τὸ ἀγιώτατον βῆμα.

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Τί ἡ ἱερὰ δηλοῖ
τράπεζα;

Τί τὸ καταπέτασμα;

Τί τὰ διάστυλα;

Τί τὰ ἐν τοῖς
πανίοις τῶν¹⁰
εὐαγγελιστῶν
ὀνόματα;¹¹

17. Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ βήματι ὁ θεὸς ναὸς διὰ μὲν τοῦ φρικτοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, τῆς ἱερᾶς δηλονότι τραπέζης, τὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ παραδηλοῖ Δεσπότην· ὁ καὶ α') ἅγια ἁγίων, καὶ β') καθέδρα, καὶ γ') τόπος Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀνάπαυσις, δ') ἱλαστήριόν τε καὶ ε') τοῦ μεγάλου θύματος ἐργαστήριον, καὶ ς') μνῆμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ ζ') δόξης αὐτοῦ καλεῖται σκηνώμα. καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ καταπετάσματος τὴν ἐπουράνιον ἐκτυποῖ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν σκηνήν, ἔνθα τῶν ἀγγέλων οἱ δῆμοι καὶ ἡ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστὶν ἀνάπαυσις. διὰ δὲ τῶν κιγκλίδων, ἥτοι τῶν διαστύλων, τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν αἰσθητῶν πρὸς τὰ νοητά.

18. Τέσσαρα δὲ μέρη ὑφάσματος ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἔχει γωνίαις ἡ ἱερὰ τράπεζα, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν περάτων συνεξυφάνθη τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ πλήρωμα. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα δὲ τῶν τεσσάρων ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρσιν εὐαγγελιστῶν, ὅτι δι' αὐτῶν συνέστη ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ

8 ἱερωμένων PG.
κατασάρκα add PG.

9 νάρθηκες] πρόναον PG.

10 τεσσάρων add PG.

11 καὶ τὸ

respectively, and 2) likewise man, consisting of soul and body, but above all also 3) the mystery of the Trinity, which is unapproachable in its essence, but made known by its providence and powers. In particular, the temple typifies 4) the visible and the invisible world, but also 5) the visible world alone: the heavens in the sacred sanctuary, and the earth in the divine nave. From another perspective, the whole divine temple is conceived as three-fold: 6) what precedes the nave, the nave, and the sanctuary. This signifies the Trinity and the ranks of those on high ordered in three, and the groups of the pious²⁵ divided in three: I mean the clergy, the faithful in good standing, and the penitents. But the shape of the divine temple also represents 7) what is on earth, what is in heaven, and what is above the heavens: the narthex being the earth, the nave heaven, and the most holy sanctuary that which is above the heavens.

17. Therefore in the sanctuary the divine temple represents the Master of heaven through the awe-inspiring altar, that is to say, the sacred altar, which is also called 1) the holy of holies, 2) the seat, 3) the place of God and the repose, 4) the mercy-seat and 5) workshop of the great sacrifice, 6) the tomb of Christ, and 7) the abode of His glory. By means of the curtain in the sanctuary it typifies the heavenly tabernacle round about God, where the hosts of angels and the repose of the saints are. By means of the chancel screen, or the pillars, it represents the difference between sensible and spiritual realities.²⁶

18. The sacred altar has four pieces of cloth at its four corners, because the fullness of the Church is composed of the ends of the earth. The names of the four evangelists are on these four because through them the Church was established and the Gospel travelled through the whole

<5> What does the sacred altar represent?

<6> What is the meaning of the curtain?

<7> What is the meaning of the pillars?

<8> What is the meaning of the evangelists' names on the pieces of cloth?

²⁵ Cf. E 1 footnote 2.

²⁶ νοητός (E 51, E 104, E 108, L 126), Liddell-Scott 1178: "falling within the province of νοῦς, mental, opp. φαιτός and ὁρατός"; Lampe § II, 918-919: "I. intelligible, within the sphere of νοῦς, apprehended by the intellect; II. spiritual, belonging to the supra-sensible and spiritual order; III. intelligent, thinking; IV. belonging to the mind." A synonym of νοερός; cf. E 32 footnote 43 and L 86.

Τί σημαίνει τὸ
κατασάρκα; τί δὲ τὸ
τραπεζοφόριον;
PG 705

Διὰ τί ἀπὸ λίθου ἡ
τράπεζα;

Τί τὸ ἱερὸν
σύνθρονον;¹³
Τί αἱ βαθμίδες τοῦ
βήματος;
Τίνα τυποὶ ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὸ
f 177v
θυσιαστήριον
εἰσελθών;
Τί τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον
καὶ σταυρὸς ἐν τῇ
τραπέζῃ κείμενα;

Διὰ τί ὑπὸ τὴν
τράπεζαν μαρτύρων
λείψανα ἅγια;
Διὰ τί ἡ ἁγία
τράπεζα μύρω ἁγίῳ
χρίεται;
Διὰ τί ἐνδύματα

πάντα τὸν κόσμον τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον περιέδραμε·
κατασάρκα δὲ λεγόμενον εὐθύς, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ
τραπεζοφόριον¹² ἄλλο κέκτηται, ὅτι τάφος ἐστὶ καὶ
θρόνος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔστιν ὡς σινδών, ἡ
/περιελήθη νεκρός, τὸ δὲ ὡς δόξης περιβολή, ὡς καὶ ὁ
ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ τίθεσθαι ἐμφαίνει ψαλμός «Ὁ Κύριος»
λέγων, «ἐβασίλευσεν, εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο».

19. Ἀπὸ λίθου δὲ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, α') ὅτι Χριστὸν
εἰκονίζει, ὃς καὶ πέτρα ὡς θεμέλιος ἡμῶν, καὶ κεφαλὴ
γωνίας, καὶ λίθος ἀκρόγωνος, καὶ β') ὅτι πέτρα πάλαι
ταύτην ἐμμεῖτο τὴν τράπεζαν, ἢ τὸν πάλαι ποτίζουσα
Ἰσραὴλ· νῦν δ' αὕτη τὸν νέον ἡμᾶς ποτίζει, οὐχ ὕδωρ,
ἀλλὰ ζωῆς αἰωνίου παρέχουσανάματα, τὸ ζῶν αἷμα
τοῦ Λόγου.

20. Διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνθρόνου τὸν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἐκ
δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς σαρκωθέντα Λόγον καθήμενον. διὰ
δὲ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν ἱερωμένων
ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων τάξιν τε καὶ ἀνάβασιν. καὶ
διὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τὸν Ἰησοῦν· ὃν τυποὶ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν
Εὐαγγέλιον ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὁρώμενον, καὶ ὁ
σταυρὸς || τὴν θυσίαν αὐτοῦ δηλών.

21. Τῇ τραπέζῃ δὲ ὑπόκειται τὰ ἱερὰ λείψανα τῶν
μαρτύρων, α') ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ μάρτυρι τοῦ
Πατρὸς αἰεὶ συμπαρόντων τοῖς πνεύμασιν. β') ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὡς θεμελίου τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ θυσιαστήριον τούτους
ὑπέχει· αἵματι γὰρ πρῶτον Χριστοῦ, εἶτα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ
τῷ τῶν μαρτύρων συνέστη. κεχρισμένον δ' ἐστὶ τῷ

12 τραπεζοφόρον Z.

13 Τί... σύνθρονον] om. PG.

world. The holy altar has what is called a "katasarka" directly upon it and after that another altar covering, because it is both the tomb and throne of Jesus. The one is like the shroud in which He was wound when dead, the other is a garment of glory, as the psalm recited when it is placed on the altar makes clear: "The Lord has reigned, He has put on majesty."²⁷

19. The altar is of stone 1) because it depicts Christ, who is a rock²⁸ as our foundation²⁹ and corner-piece³⁰ and key-stone,³¹ and 2) because in ancient times a rock foreshadowed this altar, providing water for ancient Israel. Now this rock gives us, the new Israel, to drink, providing not water, but streams of eternal life, the living blood of the Word.

20. By means of the sacred synthronon, <the divine temple depicts> the incarnate Word sitting at the right hand of the Father in heaven. By means of the steps, <is depicted> the order and ascent of each of the clergy and the angels, and through the hierarch Jesus, whom the sacred Gospel seen on the altar also typifies, and the cross represents His sacrifice.

21. The sacred relics of the martyrs lie beneath the altar, 1) since they are always present in spirit with Christ, the great Martyr of the Father. 2) But the altar also contains them as foundations of the Church, for the Church came into being first by the blood of Christ, then through Him by the blood of the martyrs. It is anointed with chrism 1)

<9.> What does the katasarka signify and what does the trapezophorion signify?

<10.> Why is the altar of stone?

What is the meaning of the sacred synthronon?

<11.> What is the meaning of the steps of the sanctuary?

<12.> Whom does the bishop typify when he has entered the sanctuary?

<13.> What is the meaning of the Gospel book and cross, placed on the altar?

<14.> Why are the relics of martyrs under the altar?

<15.> Why is the holy altar anointed with holy chrism?

²⁷ Ps 92 (93):1.

²⁸ Cf. 1 Cor 10:4.

²⁹ Cf. 1 Cor 3:11.

³⁰ Cf. Mt 21:42, Mk 12:10, Lk 20:17.

³¹ Cf. Eph 2:20 and 1 Pet 2:6.

ἔχει ταύτην
καλύπτοντα;
Διὰ τί ὑπανίσταται;

Τίνας τυποῦσιν οἱ
τοῦ βήματος;
Τί τὸ θυμίαμα;

Τί τὰ φῶτα;

PG 708

Τί δηλοῖ ὁ ἔξω τοῦ
βήματος ναός;
Τί τὰ τῶν
ναρθήκων
βηλόθυρα;

Τί σημαίνει ὁ
f 178
ἄμβων;

Τί ἡ καλλονὴ τοῦ
ναοῦ;

μύρω, α') ὅτι τῆς ἐνεργείας πλήρης τοῦ Πνεύματος, β')
καὶ τὸ ζῶν μύρον ἱερουργούμενον ἔχει. ἀμφίοις δὲ
περικεκαλυμμένον ἐστὶ καὶ κεκοσμημένον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ
ἐν αὐτῷ δυσθεώρητα καὶ οὐ πᾶσι ληπτὰ, καὶ
ἐπηρμένον δὲ καὶ λαμπρότατον, ὡς θρόνος Θεοῦ.

22. Διὰ δὲ τῶν εἰσιόντων ἐν τῷ βήματι τάξεων τὰς
ὑπερκοσμίους δυνάμεις. καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ θυμιάματος
ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἀρχομένου τὴν μεταδοτικὴν καὶ
εὐώδη τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριν. διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναπτομένων
φώτων τὸν ἐγγινόμενον τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀκατάπαυστον τοῦ
Πνεύματος φωτισμόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐκκλησία
εἰκονίζει τῷ βήματι, /διὰ δὲ τοῦ καθόλου ναοῦ, τὸν
περίγειον τοῦτον, ὡς φθάσαντες ἔφημεν, κόσμον ἢ καὶ
τὸν ὁρῶμενον οὐρανόν· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τὰς
εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα, οὐρανοῦ τάξιν φαμέν καὶ τοῦ ἐν
Ἑδὲμ παραδείσου τὸν θεῖον ἔχειν ναόν. διὸ καὶ¹⁴
καταπετάσμασί τισιν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς μοναῖς ἐν τῷ ἔξωθεν
ψάλλειν διαφράττουσι τοὺς ναοὺς, ἔλκουσι δὲ ταῦτα ἐν
τῷ εἰσέρχεσθαι, τοῦ τοιοῦτου δεικνύντος ὅτι Χριστὸς
κατήλθε μέχρις ἡμῶν, «καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ
λύσας,» καὶ εἰρήνην δεδωκώς, εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἡμᾶς
ἀνήγαγεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ περιπεττωκότες ἐγκλήμασιν οὐκ
ἔνδον τολμῶσιν εἰσελθεῖν. καὶ τὴν τάξιν δὲ τῶν
ἐγκαινίων τελοῦντες, τοῦτο ποιούμεν. ἡνίκα δ' ἔνδον τὰς
προσευχὰς ποιῶμεν καὶ τὴν φρικτὴν πρὸ πάντων
ἱερουργίαν, τὸ θυσιαστήριον μὲν ὡς ἄλλον ἔχομεν
οὐρανόν, τὸν ναόν δὲ ὡς τὰ περὶ γῆν σημαίνοντα· ἐν
αὐτῷ γὰρ ὁμοῦ πάντες καὶ προστρέχουσι καὶ
συνίστανται, Θεῷ τε ἀναπέμπουσιν ἅμα τὰς εὐχὰς.

23. Καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ἄμβων τὸν
ἐκκυλισθέντα λίθον παραδηλοῖ τοῦ μνήματος, || ἔνθα
καὶ ἀγγελικὸν σφύζοντες τύπον διάκονοι τε καὶ ἱερεῖς,
τὸ θεῖον κηρύσσουσιν Εὐαγγέλιον, διάκονοι μὲν τῇ
ἱερουργίᾳ, ἱερεῖς δὲ τῷ ὀρθρῷ τὰ ἑωθινὰ λέγοντες. τοῦ
ναοῦ δὲ ἡ ὡραιότης τὴν τῆς κτίσεως διδάσκει καλλονήν,
καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰωρημένα φῶτα τοὺς ἀστέρας μιμεῖται, ὁ
κύκλος δὲ τὸ στερέωμα.

because it is full of the energy of the Spirit, and 2) because it possesses the living consecrated chrism. It is covered and adorned by cloths because what is in it is obscure and not comprehensible to all; and it is elevated and most splendid as the throne of God.

22. The orders entering the sanctuary <depict> the otherworldly powers, and the censings, which begins from the altar, <depicts> the distributive and fragrant grace of the Spirit. The burning lights <depict> the unceasing illumination of the Spirit, which abides with the saints. These things, then, the Church depicts through the sanctuary, while through the nave as a whole <it depicts> this earthly realm, as we said earlier, and the visible sky. For when we recite the prayers before the nave, we hold that the divine nave represents heaven and the paradise of Eden. For this reason in the sacred monasteries the naves are divided by curtains while psalms are sung outside. They draw these aside on entering, showing that Christ descended to us and, "having destroyed the dividing wall"³² and granted peace, He led us up to heaven, but those who have fallen into transgressions do not dare enter. We follow this also when performing the dedication of a church. But when we do prayers inside and the awe-inspiring sacred-service in front of all the people, we regard the sanctuary as another heaven, and the nave signifies the things of earth, for within it everyone comes and gathers together, and together they send up prayers to God.

23. The ambo in front of the sanctuary represents the stone rolled aside from the tomb. There both deacons and priests, typifying the angels, proclaim the divine Gospel, deacons during the sacred-service, and priests at matins as they recite the morning hymns. The comeliness of the temple teaches the beauty of creation; the hanging lamps imitate the stars, the dome imitates the firmament.

<16.> Why do altar cloths cover the altar?

<17.> Why is it elevated?

<18.> Whom do those in the sanctuary typify?

<19.> What is the meaning of the incense?

<20.> What is the meaning of the lights?

<21.> What does the nave outside the sanctuary represent?

<22.> What do the curtains at the door of the narthex represent?

<23.> What does the ambo mean?

<24.> What does the beauty of the temple mean?

³² Eph 2:14.

Τί δηλοῦσι τὰ
προσφερόμενα;

Τίνας τυποῦσιν οἱ
ιερεῖς;

Τίνας οἱ λοιποὶ
κληρικοί;

Τίνας ὁ πιστὸς
λαός;

PG 709

24. Ἐλαιον δὲ καὶ κηρὸν καὶ θυμίαμα προσάγομεν, τὸ μὲν εἰς Θεοῦ τύπον ἐλέους, τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐκ μυρίων ἀνθῶν συγκεῖμενον, εἰς ὀλοτελῇ ἡμῶν προσαγωγὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκ πάντων θυσίαν, τὸ δὲ εἰς τύπον τῆς θείας ἀγάπης, ἣ μεταδίδοται πᾶσι, καὶ τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ Πνεύματος.

25. Καὶ ἱερεῖς μὲν ἀρχόμενοι τῶν θείων ὕμνων, τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος ἐνδοθεν, τὰς περὶ Θεὸν πρώτας εἰκονίζουσι τάξεις. διάκονοι δὲ σὺν ἀναγνώσταις καὶ ὕμνωδοῖς, τοὺς θείους τε ψαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς κατὰ τάξιν διαδεχόμενοι, τὴν μέσσην τῶν οὐρανίων χορείαν ἐμφαίνουσι. λαὸς δὲ ἅπας, ὀρθῶς ἔχων περὶ τὴν πίστιν προθέσει ψυχῆς, τοῖς μελωδοῦσι συνάπτεται, τὸν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἐκκαλούμενος ἔλεον. ἐμφαίνει δ' οὗτος τὴν τελευταίαν τάξιν μεθ' ὧν οὐ θέμις συνίστασθαι ἢ κακεργάτην ἢ ἑτερόδοξον. οὐ γὰρ «κοινωνία φωτὶ /πρὸς σκότος». εἰ δέ τις ἐπιστραφεῖ πρὸς τὸ φῶς, τότε δεκτέος τοῖς τοῦ φωτός. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ θεῖος τυποὶ ναός, εἰ καὶ ἔτι πλείω τούτων ἔστι νοεῖν τοῖς παρὰ Θεοῦ θεωρεῖν ἐσχηκόσι δύναμιν.

Τίνα τυποὶ ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς;

f 178v

26. Ὁ δὲ γε ἱερεὺς προηγουμένως μὲν παρὰ τῇ θεῇ γραφῇ ἄγγελος Κυρίου παντοκράτορος λέγεται, καὶ ὡς τῶν θείων ἐξαγγελτικός, καὶ ὡς τῶν θελημάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ πληρωτής. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰκονίζει, τὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ κέκτηται δύναμιν. καὶ πρό γε τούτου μᾶλλον ὁ ἱεράρχης, ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καθέδρας καθῆσθαι, γράφεται, τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ πλουτῶν ἔχει δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμενος χάριτι. ὁ γὰρ ἱεράρχης τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων τυγχάνει διαδοχῆς. ὅθεν καὶ ὡς τὸν Χριστὸν εἰκονίζων, ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἱερουργεῖν, τὰ ἱερὰ περιβάλλεται ἄμφια, σημασίαν ἥ ἔχοντα πάντα καὶ θεωρίαν πνευματικὴν. περὶ ὧν καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν λέγομεν. μικρὸν δὲ ἄνωθεν θεωρήσωμεν.

<E. Part Two: Those Involved in the Liturgy and their Vestments>

24. We bring offerings of oil, wax, and incense. The first <25.> What do the offerings represent? is a symbol of divine mercy, the second as if composed of countless flowers is our perfect offering and the sacrifice of all, and the third is a symbol of the divine love given to all, and of the sweet odor of the Spirit.

25. The priests beginning the divine songs of praise <26.> Whom do the priests typify? from within the sacred sanctuary depict the first orders surrounding God. The deacons, together with the lectors and cantors, taking up according to the <correct> order the <27.> Whom do the rest of the clerics represent? divine psalms and the sacred writings, manifest the middle chorus of the heavenly beings. The whole people who are of correct disposition of soul concerning the faith joins with the singers appealing for the mercy of God. This <28.> Whom do the faithful represent? group represents the last order, which it is not right for either an evil-doer or a heterodox to join, for "light has no communion with darkness."³³ But if someone should turn back to the light, then he is to be received by those of the light. These things, too, the divine temple typifies, even though it is possible for those who have received from God the power of contemplation to perceive <in it> things even greater than these.

26. The priest is said by divine scripture primarily to be an angel³⁴ of the Lord almighty,³⁵ one who proclaims divine things and who fulfills the will of God. But he also depicts Jesus, for through ordination he has received His power. And before the priest by far is the hierarch, who sits on the seat of Christ (as it is written) and has an abundance of Christ's power, being able to bind and loose³⁶ by the grace of God. For the hierarch is a successor of the apostles. Therefore, since he depicts Christ, when he is about to do the sacred-service he puts on the sacred vestments, all of which are symbolic and convey spiritual meaning. We shall speak of these later, as far as lies in our power.³⁷ But let us return briefly to our previous considerations. <29.> Whom does the bishop typify?

³³ 2 Cor 6:14.

³⁴ Or "messenger." Cf. ἄγγελος, Liddell-Scott 7; Lampe 9-14.

³⁵ Cf. Mal 2:7.

³⁶ Mt 16:19 and 18:18.

³⁷ Or "... to the best of our ability." In Greek κατὰ δύναμιν, lit. "according to strength."

Τίνες αἱ τάξεις τῶν
ἐν τῷ βήματι
χειροτονουμένων;
Τί τὸ τελεστικός;¹⁵

27. Τῶν ἐν τῷ βήματι χειροτονουμένων εἰς τρεῖς τάξεις διαιρουμένων, ἐπισκόπου, πρεσβυτέρου καὶ διακόνου, καὶ τοῦ μὲν τελεστικοῦ¹⁶ λεγομένου, δηλαδὴ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ὡς¹⁷ τελοῦντος πάντας τῇ τελεταρχικῇ χάριτι θεομιμήτω κινήσει τε καὶ δυνάμει τελουμένου,¹⁸ πάντες γὰρ λαμβάνουσι δι' αὐτοῦ, χειροτονίας μὲν καὶ σφραγίδας ἱερεῖς τε καὶ κληρὸς, καθιερώσεις τε ναοί, βάπτισμα δὲ καὶ ἄφεσιν καὶ ἁγιασμόν, μυστηρίων τε κοινωνίαν οἱ λαϊκοί· ἃ πάντα τῇ παντουργικῇ καὶ τελειοποιῇ τῆς Τριάδος ἰσχυῖ ἐκ¹⁹ τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς εἰσι χάριτος.

Τί τὸ φωτιστικός;²⁰

28. Τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου δὲ λεγομένου φωτιστικοῦ,²¹ ὡς χάριν ἔχοντος μόνον λαμπρύνειν τοὺς προσιόντας καὶ μεταδίδοναι τοῦ ἐκ τῶν μυστηρίων φωτὸς οὐ μέντοι καὶ τελειοῦν.²² βαπτίζει γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων μύρου²³ καὶ ἱερουργεῖ, θυσιαστηρίου δεόμενος.²⁴ οὐ δύναται δὲ χειροτονεῖν, οὐδ' ἄλλον ἐνεργεῖν ἱερέα, ἢ τῶν ὅσοι τάξεως μετέχουσιν ἱεράς.

Τί τὸ λειτουργικός²⁵
καὶ καθαρτικός;²⁶

29. Τοῦ διακόνου δὲ λειτουργικοῦ καὶ καθαρτικοῦ²⁷ λεγομένου, ὡς ὑπηρέτου τάξιν ἐπέχοντος, καὶ μὴ δυναμένου χωρὶς ἱερέως τι πράττειν, ὃ δὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀγγελικῆς ἐστὶ τάξεως. καθαίρει δὲ καὶ τοὺς προσιόντας οὗτος, ὁδηγῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ διανοίγων αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὸ δέξασθαι τὰ μυστήρια «Πρόσχωμεν» λέγων καὶ «Σοφία· ὀρθοί», καὶ «Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ πίστεως προσέλθετε», καὶ πρὸς τὰς εὐχὰς διεγείρει «Ὑπὸ εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν» βοῶν, καὶ «Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν» καὶ «Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν»· ἃ καθαίρουσι τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ πρὸς φωτισμὸν ὁδηγοῦσιν.²⁸

30. Ἐκαστος αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν τούτων τάξεων ἀναλόγως τῇ τάξει περιτίθεται καὶ τὰ ἄμφια. καὶ διάκονος μὲν, ὅσα τὴν ἀγγελικὴν τυποῖ τάξιν.

15 τελεστικός Z²] φωτιστικός Z¹, φωτιστικόν PG. 16 τελεστικοῦ Z²] φωτιστικοῦ Z¹ and PG. 17 ὡς Z¹] καὶ PG. 18 τελοῦντος... τελουμένου Z²] μεταδοτικοῦ τῶν θεῶν φώτων Z¹ and PG. 19 τῇ παντουργικῇ... τῆς τριάδος ... ἐκ above line Z²] ὡς ἐκ πηγῆς φωτὸς Z¹ and PG. 20 φωτιστικός Z²] τελεστικός Z¹, τελεστικόν PG. 21 φωτιστικοῦ Z²] τελεστικοῦ Z¹ and PG. 22 λαμπρύνειν ... τελειοῦν· Z²] τελεστικὴν εἰς τὰς τελετάς, οὐ μὴν μεταδοτικὴν. Z¹ and PG. 23 χρεῖαν ἔχων μύρου add above line Z². 24 θυσιαστηρίου δεόμενος add above line Z². 25 λειτουργικός Z¹] λειτουργικόν PG. 26 καὶ καθαρτικός om. PG. 27 καὶ καθαρτικοῦ in left marg. Z², om. PG. 28 καθαίρει δεῖ... ὁδηγοῦσιν in left marg. Z², om. PG.

27. Those ordained in the sanctuary are divided into three orders: bishops, priests, and deacons. Of these, *the consecrator*, that is, the bishop, is called such *because he makes everyone perfect through grace, which is the source of consecration, being consecrated by a God-imitating motion and power*, for all receive through him: priests and clerics — ordination and the seal of blessing; churches — consecration; the laity — baptism, absolution, sanctification, and communion of the mysteries. All of these actions pertain to the grace of the *episcopacy by the universally effective*³⁸ and *perfecting power of the Trinity*.

<30.> What do the orders of those ordained in the sanctuary represent? What does the consecrator represent?

§ L 16

28. The priest is called *the illuminator* because he has only the grace to enlighten those who come to him and to distribute light from the mysteries, but not, however, to consecrate. For he baptizes, but has need of chrism; and he does the sacred-service, but requires an altar. Nor can he perform ordinations, nor make priests or any of the other partakers in sacred orders.

<31.> What does the illuminator represent?

§ L 28

29. The deacon is called "liturgic" and "cathartic,"³⁹ because he has the order of assistant, and can do nothing without the priest. This function pertains to the last of the angelic orders. He purifies those who approach, guiding them and opening their minds in order that they may receive the mysteries: "Let us attend," he says, and "Wisdom! Stand!" and "With fear of God and faith draw near"; and he incites them to prayer, crying out, "In peace let us pray to the Lord," and "Let us pray to the Lord," and "Let us bow our heads to the Lord." These things purify the listeners and lead them to enlightenment.⁴⁰

<32.> What does the "liturgic," the "cathartic" represent?

30. To each <member> of the three orders vestments are bestowed according to his order. The deacon <puts on> the vestment typifying the angelic order. The priest, who had

38 παντουργός: Lampe 1005; also "I. accomplishing or effecting all things; II. wholly effective," "all-creating," Liddell-Scott (παντουργός) 1301.

39 Or "purifier." Liddell-Scott (καθάρσιος/καθαρκτικός) 851; Lampe 686.

40 The quotations are from diaconal acclamations throughout the Divine Liturgy, as well as other Byzantine services.

προσβύτερος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὸ τοῦ διακόνου χάρισμα πρότερον ἔλαβε, καὶ τὰ τῆς φωτιστικῆς²⁹ δὲ χάριτος, ἦν τὸ ἐπιτραχήλιον φανεροῖ, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς κατιὼν ὡς ἐκ τῆς δωρεᾶς ἄνωθεν κατιούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν φώτων Πατρός.³⁰ ὁ ἱεράρχης δὲ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι τὸ ὠμοφόριον, ὃ παρίστησι σεσαρκωμένον τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱόν, τὸν τελετάρχην Λόγον, τὸν καὶ τῇ τελείᾳ ἐνώσει τελείως ἡμᾶς ἀγιάσαντα.³¹

PG 712

Τί δηλοῖ τὸ
στιχάριον;

31. Διὸ καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἱερὰν ἐνδυνόμενος, πρότερον τὸ στιχάριον περιβάλλεται. /α') τὸ³² δὴ στιχάριον τὴν φωτεινὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐμφαίνει περιβολὴν· οὕτω γὰρ πολλάκις φωτεινὴν ἐσθῆτα περιβεβλημένοι ὤφθησαν ἄγγελοι, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ μνήματι λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐνδεδυμένος. β') ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμόλυντον εἰκονίζει τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως, δι' ἣν καθαρότητα καὶ ταύτης ὁ ἱερεὺς καταξιούται τῆς χάριτος, γ') καὶ ἔτι τὴν θεῖαν ἔλλαμψιν, ἣν διακονεῖ τοῖς πιστοῖς διὰ τε τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ ἐνδύεσθαι λέγων || «Αγαλλιᾶσεται ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ· ἐνέδυσε γάρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου» καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

f 179

Ὅτι διάκονος
στιχάριον ἔχει καὶ
ῥάριον.
Τί τὸ ῥάριον;
Διὰ τί διάκονος τῷ
ῥαρίῳ κοινωνῶν
περιζώννυται;

32. Καὶ διάκονος δὲ ἀγγελικὴν ἔχων, ὡς εἴρηται, τάξιν, τοῦτο περικείται· ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τε φέρει ὃ καλοῦμεν ῥάριον. τοῦτο δέ γε ὡς περὰ ὑπεμφαίνει διὰ τὸ αὐλόν τε καὶ νοερὸν τῆς ἀγγελικῆς τάξεως, δι' οὗ καὶ τὰ Χερουβιμ ἐκμιμούμενος περιστελλόμενα τὰς ὄψεις, καὶ αὐτὸς περιζωννύμενος, οἷον συστέλλεται ἐν τῷ μέλλειν μεταλαβεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ῥαρίῳ τὸ «Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος» γεγραμμένον ἔχει· ἃ δὴ τὴν λειτουργικὴν διδάσκουσι τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων τάξιν.

29 φωτιστικῆς Z²] τελεστικῆς Z¹ and PG.add in left marg. Z².marg. Z². 32 Ὁ PG.

30 ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς... φώτων πατρός

31 τὸν τελετάρχην... ἀγιάσαντα add above line and in right

earlier received the grace of deacon, wears these as well as those of the grace of *enlightenment*, which the epitachelion manifests, *descending from the head from above, as from the gift descending from on high from the Father of lights*.⁴¹ The hierarch, in addition to these, also wears the omophorion, which represents the incarnate Son of God, *the Word who is Master of the rites, who sanctifies us perfectly by the consecratory union*.

31. Therefore, in clothing himself in the sacred vesture, <the cleric> first puts on the sticharion. 1) Indeed the sticharion indicates the shining raiment of the angels. For many times angels have appeared arrayed in shining garments, just as the one in the tomb who was clothed in a white garment. 2) But it also depicts the pure and undefiled character of the priestly order, on account of the purity by which the priest is deemed worthy of this grace; 3) it also represents the divine illumination which he ministers to the faithful by the Gospel, and other things as well. He testifies to this in vesting when he recites, "My soul shall exult in the Lord, for He has clothed me with a garment of salvation,"⁴² and what follows.

32. And the deacon, as was said, occupying the angelic order, puts on his shoulders and wears what we call the "orarion." This indicates wings, as it were, because of the immaterial and spiritual⁴³ character of the angelic order, by which he imitates the Cherubim who cover their faces. Fastening the orarion, he girds himself as he is about to receive communion. Also on the orarion is written "Holy, holy, holy,"⁴⁴ which indeed teaches the liturgical order of the holy angels.

<33.> What does the sticharion represent?

§ L 10, L 12, L 17

<34.> That the deacon has a sticharion and an orarion.

<35.> What does the orarion represent?

<36.> Why does the deacon regird the orarion during communion?

⁴¹ Cf. Jas 1:17.

⁴² The beginning of the contemporary verse accompanying vesting the sticharion: Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 36; cf. Is 61:10.

⁴³ νοερός (L 35, L 86), Liddell-Scott 1177: "intellectual, in the spiritual world or order"; Lampe 915-916: "I. intellectual, intelligent, rational, belonging to the mind, understanding, with knowledge, skilful; II. spiritual, belonging to the spiritual world or order." Here and in L 86, Symeon refers to unseen spiritual realities, but in L 35 the text deals with the intellect. When referring to spiritual realities, νοερός is a synonym of νοητός; cf. E 17 footnote 26, and E 51, E 104, E 108, L 126.

⁴⁴ Is 6:3.



Τί δηλοῦσι οἱ
ποταμοὶ τοῦ
ἀρχιερατικοῦ
στιχαρίου;

Τί οἱ ποταμοὶ τοῦ
μανδύα;³³ τί τὰ
πώματα;

Τί δηλοῖ τὸ
ἐπιτραχήλιον;

PG 713

f 179v

33. Τὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δὲ στιχάριον ἄνωθεν κατιόντας τοὺς λεγομένους κέκτηται ποταμούς, α') τὸ διδασκαλικὸν τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ σημαίνοντος χάριτος, καὶ τὸ διάφορον ἅμα τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἄνωθεν χαρισμάτων, δι' αὐτοῦ εἰς πάντας προχεομένων. καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις γὰρ οὐ πᾶσιν ἡ αὐτὴ τάξις, ἀλλὰ κακέισε τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων εἰσι διδάσκαλοι καὶ μεταδοτικοὶ φωτισμάτων. β') ποταμοὶ δὲ λέγονται διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Σωτῆρος φωνὴν λέγοντος «Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, ποταμοὶ ῥεύσουσιν ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ὕδατος ζῶντος». Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερατικὸς διδάσκει μανδύας, ποταμούς μὲν διὰ τὰ προειρημένα, πώματα δέ, εἰς τύπον τῆς παλαιᾶς τε καὶ καινῆς ἔχων χάριτος· ἃ³⁴ καὶ ὑπεράνω κεῖται τῶν ποταμῶν, δηλοῦντος τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὡς ἐκ τῶν δύο Διαθηκῶν τὸν διδάσκαλον χρῆ λαμβάνειν, καὶ τὰς διδασκαλίας ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν στιχάριον οὕτω.

34. Τὸ δέ γε ἐπιτραχήλιον α') τὴν φωτιστικὴν³⁵ καὶ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν φώτων Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ σαρκωθέντος Υἱοῦ³⁶ κατερχομένην ἐν Πνεύματι³⁷ παρίστησι θεῖαν³⁸ χάριν. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τε καὶ ἱερεὺς, ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς τοῦτο περιβαλλόμενος «Εὐλογητός», φησιν, «ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἐκχέων τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτοῦ». ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτο πᾶς ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς χρῆσιν ἔχει ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἱερᾷ τελετῇ. β') ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπαιουχένιον εἶναι Χριστῷ τὸν ἱερέα δηλοῖ, ὑπ' ἐκεῖνῳ τελετάρχῃ τὰς τελετὰς ὀφείλοντα ἐνεργεῖν, καὶ τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ζυγῷ ἐν || ταπεινώσει καθυποκεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πράττειν μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ οὐ δυνατόν ποιεῖν τι. «Πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο» τε καὶ γίνεται.

33 καὶ add PG. 34 Add δὴ PG. 35 φωτιστικὴν Z²] τελεστικὴν Z¹ and PG. 36 ἐκ τοῦ τῶν φώτων πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ σαρκωθέντος υἱοῦ add above line and in right marg. Z². 37 ἐν Πνεύματι Z²] τοῦ πνεύματος Z¹ and PG. 38 θεῖαν above the line Z², om. PG.

33. The sticharion of the bishop has what are called the "rivers" (potamoi) on it descending from the top, 1) which signify the teaching power of the grace within him and, at the same time, the distinctiveness of the gifts from on high in the bishop, through whom they are poured out onto all. For the angels do not all have the same order, but even among them there are those who teach others of lower grade and who dispense enlightenment. 2) They are called "rivers" because of the dictum of the Savior in the Gospel, who said, "As for him who believes in me, rivers of living water shall flow from his heart."⁴⁵ The bishop's mandyas also teaches this: for the reasons already explained, it has "rivers," and also "pomata,"⁴⁶ as symbols of both the Old <Testament> and the New Grace. These "pomata" lie above the "rivers," which represents that the teacher must take from both testaments when teaching. Such, then, is the sticharion.

<37.> What do the potamoi on the episcopal sticharion represent?

§ L 10-12, L 17

<38.> What do the potamoi and the pomata on the mandyas represent?

34. The epitachelion 1) represents the *enlightening divine grace descending from the Father of lights*⁴⁷ *through the incarnate Son in the Spirit*. For this reason, both the bishop and the priest, as they place the vestment over their heads, recite, "Blessed be God, who pours out His grace onto His priests."⁴⁸ Therefore each priest and bishop employs the epitachelion for every sacred rite. 2) It also represents the priest as subject to Christ, being obliged to perform the rites in obedience to that Master of rites, and to submit to Christ's yoke in humility, and to perform Christ's works with Him and to do nothing at all without Him, for without Christ he is able to do nothing. "For all things were made" and are being made "through Him."⁴⁹

<39.> What does the epitachelion represent?

§ L 18

⁴⁵ Cf. Jn 7:38.

⁴⁶ Possibly connected to πῶμα, meaning 1) a lid or cover, 2) a draught or drink, or 3) a drinking cup, Liddell-Scott 1561. Cf. Léon Clugnet, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Église grecque* (Paris, 1895) 124 and Martine Roty, *Dictionnaire russe-français des termes en usage dans l'Église russe* (Paris, 1980) 61, 111.

⁴⁷ Cf. Jas 1:17.

⁴⁸ The beginning of the contemporary verse for vesting the epitachelion: Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 36-37; cf. Ps 132 (133):2.

⁴⁹ Jn 1:3.

Τί ἡ ζώνη;

35. Ἡ δέ γε ζώνη τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν διακονίαν δείκνυσι τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἣν καὶ ἐνταῦθα διέπραξε, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι πράττειν καθυπέσχετο δι' ἡμᾶς «περιζώσεται», γάρ φησι «καὶ ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτούς, καὶ παρελθὼν, διακονήσει αὐτοῖς». ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν εἰκονίζει καὶ τὸ κραταῖον τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως, καὶ ἔτι τὴν σωφροσύνην. καὶ μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ σώματος τὸν ἁγιασμόν ἐπὶ τῶν νεφρῶν κειμένη ἡ ζώνη, καπὶ τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖ τὰ λεγόμενα «Εὐλογητὸς» γάρ φησιν «ὁ Θεός, ὁ περιζωννύων με δύναμιν, καὶ ἔθετο ἄμωμον τὴν ὁδόν μου».

Τί τὸ³⁹ ἐπιγονάτιον;

36. Ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ζώνῃ ὁ ἱεράρχης καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπιγονάτιον περιτίθεται ἐξαρτήσας, α') ὁ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκην καὶ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως, καὶ τὸ μέγα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰσχύος κατὰ τῆς τοῦ πονηροῦ τυραννίδος ἐμφαίνει, γεγεννημένην διὰ τὸ ἀναμαρτήτως ἐκ παρθένου τεχθῆναι τὸν Κύριον, καὶ χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας ζῆσαι καὶ σταυρωθῆναι, καὶ τὸν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν γεννήσαντα νικῆσαι, τῇ Ἀναστάσει τὸν πεσόντα διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας Ἀδὰμ ἀναστήσαντα. β') διὸ καὶ σχῆμα ῥομφαίας ἔχει, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀσφύος ἐκκρέμαται, ἐνθα τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχειν φασί. καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα δὲ ἐν τῷ περιτίθεσθαι ῥήματα τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ, λέγει γάρ· «Περιζῶσαι τὴν ῥομφαίαν σου ἐπὶ τὸν μηρόν σου, δυνατέ». καὶ τὸ «Κύριος ἐνεδύσατο δύναμιν καὶ περιεζώσατο» τοῦτο διδάσκει.

Τί δηλοῦσι τὰ ἐπιμάνικα;⁴⁰

37. Τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα ἐπιμάνικα⁴¹ καὶ α') τὸ παντουργὸν τῆς ἐνεργείας εἰκονίζουσι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ β')

39 After λεγόμενον add PG.

40 ἐπιμάνικα PG.

41 ἐπιμάνικα PG.

35. The cincture shows the Savior's service on our behalf, which He accomplished here and promised to bring it to pass for us in the future, for he says, "He will gird Himself and have them sit at table, and He will come and serve them."⁵⁰ But it also depicts the strength and § L 19
might of His own power, and His moderation as well. And the cincture put on over the kidneys represents the sanctification of the body together with the soul, and what is said witnesses to this, for <while putting it on> he says, "Blessed be God, who girds me with strength and has made my way blameless."⁵¹

36. But the hierarch also puts on what is called the "epigonation," which hangs from the cincture. 1) It shows <41.> What does the epigonation represent?
forth the victory against death, the incorruption of our nature, and the greatness of God's might against the § L 20, L 29
tyranny of the evil one, a victory which has come about through the Lord's being born sinlessly from a virgin, His life without sin, His crucifixion, and His victory over the father of sin,⁵² through the Resurrection of Him who raised Adam fallen through sin. 2) So, it has the shape of a sword and hangs upon the loins, where man is said to possess strength and self-control. What is said in putting it on witnesses to this: "Gird Your sword upon Your thigh, mighty one."⁵³ And "The Lord clothed Himself with power and girded Himself"⁵⁴ also teaches this.

37. What are called cuffs⁵⁵ also depict 1) the all-creat- <42.> What do the cuffs represent?
ing⁵⁶ quality of the energy of God, and 2) Jesus' carrying

⁵⁰ Lk 12:37.

⁵¹ The verse to accompany the vesting of the cincture in contemporary usage has a final πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ("forever, now and ever, and to the ages of the ages"), not mentioned by Symeon: Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 37; cf. Ps 17 (18):32.

⁵² Lit. "the one who generated (gave birth to) sin."

⁵³ The opening of the contemporary verse accompanying the vesting of the epigonation: Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 37; cf. Ps 44 (45):3. Note that Symeon's description indicates vesting the epigonation before the cuffs; contemporary usage prescribes vesting first the cuffs.

⁵⁴ The current verse accompanying the vesting of the cincture: Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 37; cf. Ps 92 (93):1.

⁵⁵ In E Symeon uses ἐπιμάνικα. The more common form, ἐπιμανίκια, is found in L 9, cf. Clugnet 53.

⁵⁶ Or "all-accomplishing." Cf. E 27 footnote 38.

τὸ διὰ τῶν οἰκείων χειρῶν τὴν ἱερουργίαν τοῦ ἰδίου σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος αὐτουργῆσαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐν τῷ ταῦτα περιβάλλεσθαι οἰκεία «Ἡ δεξιὰ σου, Κύριε, δεδόξασται ἐν ἰσχύϊ», καὶ τὸ «Αἱ χεῖρες σου ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἔπλασάν με». γ') ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν χειρσὶ δεσμὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, οἷς προσδεθεῖς, || ἡπείγετο πρὸς Πιλάτον, φασὶ τινες τὰ ἐπιμάνικα⁴² ἐκτυποῦν.

f 180

Τί σημαίνει τὸ
φαινόλιον;

PG 716

38. Τὸ ἱερὸν δὲ φαινόλιον α') τὴν ὑψηλότεραν καὶ ἄνωθεν χορηγουμένην τοῦ Πνεύματος φαίνει δύναμιν τε καὶ ἔλλαμψιν, ὑπερκειμένη γὰρ ἢ τῶν ἄνω τάξεων τῶν μειζόνων λαμπρότης, β') ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν περιέχουσιν πάντα προνοητικὴν καὶ παντουργικὴν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ/γόν τοῦ Θεοῦ *θείαν*⁴³ δύναμιν, δι' ἣν κατῆλθεν ὁ Λόγος μέχρις ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω, σαρκωθείς καὶ σταυρωθεῖς καὶ ἐξαναστάς, δι' ἑαυτοῦ συνῆξεν εἰς ἑαυτόν. γ') διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐξαιρέτως, ὃν ἐνεδύσατο ἐμπαιζόμενος ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἐξεικονίζει σάκκον. διὸ καὶ ὡς σάκκου τύπον ἐπέχει. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχει τοῦτο ἃ καλοῦσι μανίκια, τὸ περιεκτικὸν ἀπάντων δηλῶν.

39. Αἰριδηλότερον δὲ τοῦτο παρίστησι καὶ ὁ ἐνδύονται οἱ ἔκκριτοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων, σάκκος τοῦτο καλούμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, τὸ φαινόλιον πλήρες σταυρῶν ἐνδύόμενοι, ὁ δὲ καὶ πολυσταύριον ὁ λόγος καλεῖν οἶδε, τοῦτο σαφῶς παριστᾷ,⁴⁴ ὅτι τοῦ πάθους ἐστὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος δηλωτικόν, κάκεῖνον μιμεῖται, τὸν διὰ παθῶν καὶ σταυροῦ τὴν ἀληθῆ δικαιοσύνην τετελεκότα, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τυραννούντος ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῖν παρεσχηκότα, καὶ πάντας ὁμοῦ σώσαντα. διὸ καὶ ἐνδύόμενός φησιν «Οἱ ἱερεῖς σου, Κύριε, ἐνδύσονται δικαιοσύνην, καὶ οἱ ὅσιοί σου ἀγαλλιάσει ἀγαλλιάσονται». ὄντως γὰρ ἢ διὰ σταυροῦ δικαιοσύνη τὴν ἀγαλλίασιν ἡμῖν ἐχορήγησε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἅπερ ἐνδύεται ἀρχιερεὺς⁴⁵ τε καὶ ἱερεὺς, τοῦ ἐπιγονατίου μόνου χωρὶς, καὶ τοιαῦτα τυποῦσιν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἰδεῖν ἐδυνήθημεν.⁴⁶

42 ἐπιμάνικια PG.
διάκονός PG.

43 θείαν om. PG.
46 ἡδυνήθημεν PG.

44 περιστᾷ PG.

45 ἀρχιερεὺς Z¹)

out by His own hands the sacred-service of his own body and blood. Therefore, this is what is said when they are put on: "Your right hand, Lord, is glorified in strength,"⁵⁷ § L 21 and "Your hands made me and formed me."⁵⁸ 3) But some also say that the cuffs symbolize the fetters of the Savior, in which having been bound He was led to Pilate.

38. The sacred phelonion⁵⁹ shows 1) the very lofty <43.> What does the power and illumination of the Spirit, bestowed from on high, for the splendor of the greater orders on high lies phelonion represent? above, 2) but also the all-embracing, providential, all-accomplishing and benevolent divine power of God, for § L 22 the sake of which the Word descended among us, and being incarnate, crucified and risen again, through Himself He also gathered into Himself what is on high and what is below. 3) For this reason, it looks especially like sackcloth, which the Savior wore when He was being mocked. Therefore it has the form of sackcloth. Nor does it have what are called sleeves, representing its all-embracing character.

39. What the more eminent bishops wear sets this forth § L 22 even more clearly; it is called a "sakkos." The rest of the bishops wear the phelonion covered with crosses, which is known by the term "polystaurion." This clearly shows it to be a sign of the suffering of the Savior and represents Him who through sufferings and the cross accomplished the true righteousness, provided us freedom from the tyrannical <devil>, and at the same time saved us. Therefore, when vesting, he says, "Your priests, O Lord, will put on righteousness and Your blessed ones will rejoice joyfully."⁶⁰ For the righteousness through the cross really provided us joy. These same vestments, which both the bishop and priest wear, except for the epigonation, typify the foregoing, as we have been able to see.

57 The opening words of the verse accompanying the vesting of the right cuff: Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 36-37; cf. Ex 15:6.

58 The opening words of the verse accompanying the vesting of the left cuff: Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 36-37; cf. Ps 118 (119):73.

59 Symeon uses *φαινόλιον*, an alternative form of the more customary *φελόνιον*, cf. Clugnet 160-161.

60 Recited as priests and bishops put on the phelonion: Brightman 356; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 37; Ps 131 (132):9.

Τί σημαίνει τὸ
ὠμοφόριον, καὶ διὰ
τί ἐξ ἐρίου;

f 180v

40. Ὁ ἱεράρχης δὲ σὺν τῷ ἐπιγονατίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς, ἐπεὶ πάντων ἔχει τὴν χάριν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τὸ ἱερόν περιτίθεται ὠμοφόριον. α') ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐρίου ὃν, κύκλῳ περὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἔμπροσθέν τε καὶ ὀπίσθεν περιβάλλεται. τοῦτο δ' αὐτὴν εἰκονίζων ἐστὶν ἐναργῶς τὴν ἐκ παρθένου δι' ἡμᾶς σαρκῶσιν καὶ ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τὴν τελειοποιὸν χάριν, ἣν σαρκῶθεις εἰς ἀνάπλασιν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φύσει διὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐβράβευσεν.⁴⁷ β') διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐξ ἐρίου, ὅτι τὸ πλανηθὲν τυποῖ πρόβατον, ὃ ἐπὶ || τῶν ὤμων ἔλαβεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, τουτέστι τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν κατελθὼν ἐσαρκώθη, καὶ γ') ὅτι καὶ ἄμνος ἐκλήθη σφαγιασθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ἅ φησι ῥήματα ἐπ' ὤμων ἐλίττων, τὴν ἔννοιαν βεβαιοῖ· φάσκει γάρ «Ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, Χριστέ, τὴν πλανηθεῖσαν ἄρας φύσιν, ἀναληφθεὶς, τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ προσήγαγες». Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς.

Διὰ τί ἀσκεπεῖς
λειτουργοῦσι πλὴν
τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας
ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ
ιερεῖς; καὶ ὅτι
κρεῖττον τὸ
ἀπερικαλύπτως
λειτουργεῖν.

41. Ἀπερικαλύπτῳ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ οἱ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἱεράρχαι πάντες καὶ ἱερεῖς, πλὴν τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, τὴν ἱερουργίαν τελοῦσιν, οὐ κατ' ἐλάττωσιν τινα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγον ὑψηλότερον μάλα δὴ καὶ θεϊότερον. α') ὁ ὁ θεηγόρος Παῦλος ὑποτίθησι καὶ διδάσκει, κεφαλὴν μὲν ἡμῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ὀνομάζων, μέλη δὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τιμώντας ἡμῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπερικαλύπτους ἔχειν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι. β') καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὴν χειροτονίαν ὁ χειροτονούμενος δέχεται, καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει ὥς ἐχειροτονήθη προσεύχεσθαι καὶ ἱερουργεῖν. γ') ὁ δὲ ἱεράρχης μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ χειροτονούμενος ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχει τὰ θεοπαράδοτα λόγια, ἥτοι τὸ ἱερόν Εὐαγγέλιον, οὐκ ἄλλο ἐπίβλημα ἔχειν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ὀφείλει ἐν τῷ ἱερουργεῖν τὰ θεϊότατα.

47 τὴν τελειοποδὸν δηλοῦν χάριν, ἣν σαρκῶθεις τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φύσει εἰς ἀνάπλασιν διὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐβράβευσεν. add above line; then crossed out and rewritten as καὶ τὴν τελειοποδὸν χάριν, ἣν σαρκῶθεις εἰς ἀνάπλασιν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φύσει διὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐβράβευσεν in right marg. Z².

40. In addition, since he has received the grace of all the ecclesiastical orders and especially the episcopal power, the hierarch with the epigonation and the other things also puts on the sacred omophorion. 1) Made of wool, it is placed around the shoulders in front and in back. It depicts visibly the Word's incarnation⁶¹ and becoming human⁶² for us from the Virgin and *the consecrating grace which He, incarnate, grants through the priesthood for the recreation of our nature*. 2) On account of this, it is of wool, because it typifies the sheep gone astray which the Savior took on His shoulders, that is, our human nature, because, having descended from the heavens, He became incarnate. 3) And because He is also called a lamb slain for us. The words which he says as he winds it about his shoulders confirm this idea; for he says, "Having lifted our nature gone astray and having placed it on Your shoulders, O Christ, You brought it to God the Father."⁶³ And this is <the explanation> about the sacred vesture.

<44.> What does the omophorion signify and why is it made of wool?

§ L 23

41. All the priests and hierarchs of the East, except the hierarch of Alexandria, perform the sacred-service with the head uncovered. This is not because of some neglect,⁶⁴ but, indeed, for a very lofty and divine reason. 1) Paul, the speaker-about-God, set down as a principle and taught that Christ is our head⁶⁵ and we are His limbs.⁶⁶ So it is necessary for those honoring Christ our head to have heads uncovered when praying. 2) And not for this reason alone, but also because the one being ordained receives ordination with his head bare, and in the same way as he was ordained, he is obliged to pray and to do the sacred-service. 3) The hierarch most of all should have no other covering on his head when doing the most divine sacred-service, for when ordained, he has the God-given words, that is the sacred Gospel, placed on his head.

<45.> Why do hierarchs and priests do the liturgy bare-headed, except the hierarch of Alexandria? And that is better to do the liturgy with the head uncovered.

⁶¹ Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

⁶² Cf. E 8 footnote 15.

⁶³ Μικρὸν Τερατικόν, 2 vols. (Athens, 2004) 2:214.

⁶⁴ Lit. "disparagement," "diminishment," or "reduction." Cf. Liddell-Scott 529 (ἐλαττώω/ἐλάττωσις); Lampe 446.

⁶⁵ Cf. Eph 5:23 and Col 1:18, 2:10.

⁶⁶ Cf. 1 Cor 6:15.

PG 717

Σημείωσαι
ἀπορηματικὴν
ἐρώτησιν⁴⁸

Λύσις⁴⁹

f 181

42. ΑΛΛ' ἴσως ἐρεῖ τις, Καὶ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχων ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἱερὸν ἐπικά/λυμμα, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πλείστοι κατὰ παράδοσιν ἀρχαίαν, οὐκ εὐαγῶς ποιοῦσιν; Οὐ τοῦτό φημι, κάκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαία πρὸς τοὺς ἐνεργοῦντας παράδοσις, ἀλλὰ νομικωτέρα μᾶλλον· ἔφερε γὰρ καὶ ὁ νομικὸς ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κίδαριν, ἣν δὴ καὶ μίτραν ὠνόμαζον, καθὰ δὴ καὶ οἱ περιτιθέμενοι ἱεράρχαι τοῦτο φιλοῦσι καλεῖν. Ἰσως ἐξομοιοῦν ἔχουσιν αὐτὸ καὶ τῷ τοῦ Δεσπότης ἀκανθίνῳ στεφάνῳ, ἢ καὶ τῷ σουδαρίῳ τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴ περ ἀποτίθενται τοῦτο καὶ οὗτοι εἰς ἀναγκαίους τῆς ἱερουργίας καιροὺς, μαρτυροῦσιν ὡς ἀναγκαιότερα ἢ τοῦ μακαρίου παράδοσις Παύλου. ἢ γὰρ εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀκανθίνου στεφάνου διὰ τῆς κουρᾶς τῶν τριχῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τῶν ἱερωμένων ἐκτυπῶνται, || τῆς ἱεράς σφραγίδος ἐνεργουμένης. τοῦτο δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ τῶν μοναχῶν ἱερωμένοι δηλοῦσι σαφέστερον, ὡς στέφανον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς κεκαρμένον· ὃ καὶ ἔτι δηλοῖ τὸν στέφανον τῆς παρθενίας αὐτῶν. τὸ δὲ γε σουδάριον τὸ εἰλητὸν εἰκονίζει. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ εἰλίσσεται καὶ εἰλητὸν οὕτω καλεῖται. ἀναγκαιότερον ἄρα τὸ ἀπερικαλύπτως προσεύχεσθαι καὶ ἱερουργεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἀμελητέον τούτου, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καιροῖς.

Τί τὸ κατελθεῖν ἐκ
τοῦ στασιδίου τὸν
ἱεράρχην;
Τί τὸ ἐνδύεσθαι τὰ
ἀρχιερατικά;

43. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱεράρχης ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἱερουργεῖν, κατελθὼν τοῦ θρόνου, ἐν ᾧ παρίσταται, τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου δηλοῖ συγκατάβασιν. ἐνδυνόμενος δὲ τὴν ἱεράν στολήν, τὴν παναγίαν αὐτοῦ σημαίνει σάρκωσιν. Κατερχόμενος δὲ ἄχρι καὶ τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ πυλῶν, τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ παρουσίαν τε καὶ

48 Σημείωσαι ἀπορηματικὴν ἐρώτησιν om. PG.

49 Λύσις om. PG.

42. But perhaps someone will ask, "So are the Alexandrian patriarch, and very many others, who according to ancient tradition leave a sacred covering on their head, acting in a manner that is not holy?" I do not say this, for that is also an ancient tradition for those who do so, but it is more typical of the Jewish Law; for the high priest of the Law wore on his head a "kidaris,"⁶⁷ which was indeed also called a miter, as indeed the hierarchs wearing it prefer to call it. Perhaps they do this in imitation of the Lord's crown of thorns, or the sudarium on His head. But since they likewise also remove it at solemn moments of the sacred-service, they bear witness to that the tradition of the blessed Paul is more binding.⁶⁸ For the image of the crown of thorns⁶⁹ is typified by means of the tonsure of hairs on the head of those being ordained when the sacred seal is performed. Ordained monks represent this especially clearly, as they have a crown cut in the hair on the head, and this also represents their crown of their virginity. The eileton⁷⁰ also depicts the sudarium. For it is folded and for this reason called an "eileton." So, then, it is more suitable to pray and do the sacred-service with head uncovered and one must not neglect this especially in the solemn moments.

A question expressing a doubt

Solution

<F. Part Three: The Enarxis of the Liturgy>

43. The hierarch, then, who is about to do the sacred-service, descends from the throne where he was, representing the descent of God the Word to us. Putting on the sacred vesture, he signifies His all-holy incarnation.⁷¹ Descending as far as the gates of the temple, he represents His appearance and manifestation on earth, and also His

<46.> What does the hierarch's descent from his seat represent?

§ L 8, L 24, L 117, L 120

⁶⁷ The term κίδαρις is found in Ex 28:4, 28:39, 28:40, Lev 8:13, 16:4, 1 Esd 3:6, Jdt 4:15, Sir 45:12, Zech 3:5, Ezek 21:26 (31) and 44:18. It translates four Hebrew terms (מִצְנֶפֶת, מִנְבֵּחַ, פָּאָר, and צִנִּיף), which are all rendered "turban" in modern translations. Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, including the Apocryphal Books* (Oxford, 1897) 764.

⁶⁸ Cf. 1 Cor 11:3-4.

⁶⁹ Cf. Mt 27:29, Mk 15:17 and Jn 19:5.

⁷⁰ Εἰλητόν from εἰλέω (εἶλω), "what is wound, rolled, or folded," a cloth covering the antimension on the altar; Liddell-Scott 486-487, Lampe 416, Clugnet 42-43.

⁷¹ Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

Τί τὸ κατέρχεσθαι
πρὸς δυσμὰς εἰς
τὰς τοῦ ναοῦ
πύλας;

φανέρωσιν, καὶ τὴν μέχρι θανάτου καὶ ἄδου κάθοδον
τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀπιέναι, καὶ μέχρι
πυλῶν κατελθεῖν. τῆς ἱερᾶς δὲ ἀρξαμένης λειτουργίας
τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τὸν καιρὸν δεδωκότος· οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν
χωρὶς αὐτοῦ τι διενεργεῖσθαι· οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς ἔνθα
λέγουσι τὰς εὐχάς, τὰς οὐρανίους τυποῦντες τάξεις

Διὰ τί ψαλμοὶ ὁμοῦ
καὶ τῆς χάριτος
ὕμνοι;

44. Ψάλλται δὲ ψάλλουσι τὰ ἀντίφωνα, τῶν προφητῶν
ἐκτυποῦντες τὸν χορὸν. καὶ ταῦτα τρισὼς διαίρεται
τὴν Τριάδα τιμώντες, ψαλμικὰ μὲν προλέγοντες
συνάπτοντες δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος ὕμνους. καὶ διὰ
τῶν ψαλμικῶν προκηρυχθεῖσαν καὶ τοῖς παλαῖς
καταγγέλλουσι τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σάρκωσιν, διὰ
τῶν ἐφθυμνίων αὐτὴν παριστῶσι τὴν χάριν
τετελεσμένην καὶ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸν σαρκωθέντα
καὶ πάντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐνεργήσαντα.

Ὅτι πρῶτον
καλοῦμεν τὴν
Θεοτόκον.
PG 720
Ὅτι δεύτερον τοὺς
ἁγίους.
Ὅτι τρίτον καὶ
τελευταῖον αὐτὸν
f 181v
τὸν Σωτῆρα ἡμῶν.

45. Διὸ καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τοῦτον παρθενικὴν
τεκοῦσαν τιμώντες, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῆς αἰτοῦμεν
μεσιτείαν. δι' αὐτῆς γὰρ πρώτης καὶ μόνης σεσῶ/σμεν
«Ταῖς πρεσβείας» λέγοντες «τῆς Θεοτόκου, Σῶσον
ἡμᾶς». ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν ἁγίων μεμνημένοι, οἱ
μυστηρίῳ ἐπαγωνισάμενοι ἱερῶς τετελείωνται, καὶ
αὐτῶν ἐπικαλοῦνται δεήσεις. ὕστερον δὲ τὸν
σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Χριστὸν
ἀνυμνοῦντες, μεγαλοφώνως, || τὸ «Σῶσον ἡμᾶς,
Θεοῦ» ἀναμέλπουσι.

descent to death and to the underworld; for going to the west and descending to the gates represent this.⁷² The sacred liturgy is begun when the bishop indicates the moment. For it is not possible without him for anything to be carried out. The priests say the prayers inside, typifying the heavenly orders.⁷³

<47> What does putting on the bishop's vestments signify?

<48> What does descending to the west to the doors of the church represent?

44. The psalmists sing the antiphons, typifying the choir of the prophets. They divide these in three, honoring the Trinity, saying first the psalm verses, and then adding on the hymns of grace.⁷⁴ Through the psalmic verses they were proclaimed in advance, and to the ancients they announce the incarnation⁷⁵ of the Word of God, while the hymns of praise set forth the accomplished grace itself and the incarnate Son of God and everything done for us.

<49> Why are there psalms together with hymns of grace?

§ L 121

45. Therefore, first honoring her who virginally bore Him, they beg her intercession for us. For through her first and alone we have been saved. They say, "By the prayers of the Theotokos, O Savior, save us."⁷⁶ Then, remembering the saints, who have struggled for the mystery and have been perfected in sacred manner, they invoke their intercessions. Afterwards, praising in song Christ aloud, the originator and accomplisher of our salvation,⁷⁷ they sing, "Save us, O Son of God."⁷⁸

<50> That first we call on the Theotokos.

§ L 121

<51> That, secondly, we call upon the saints.

<52> That, thirdly and finally, we call on our Savior Himself.

⁷² Regarding this "Descent to the West," cf. E 46, L 24, and discussion in "The Liturgy in Symeon's Commentaries," above, pp. 26–27.

⁷³ Symeon does not mention either the opening blessing of the liturgy or the litanies of peace, which certainly began the Divine Liturgy in his era in Thessalonika, as they do today, Brightman 362–363; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 44, 47–48, 75–76.

⁷⁴ Cf. Rom 5:12–17.

⁷⁵ Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

⁷⁶ Refrain of the first antiphon of the Divine Liturgy: Brightman 364; Kōnstantinos Papa-giannēs, *Εγκόλπιον ἀναγνώστου καὶ ψάλτου* (Manual for lector and psalmist; Athens, 2005) 174–175.

⁷⁷ Cf. Heb 12:2.

⁷⁸ Refrain of the second antiphon of the Divine Liturgy: Brightman 365; Papa-giannēs 177.

Τί ἐκτυποῖ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔξω τοῦ βήματος καὶ κάτω ἱστάμενος, καὶ τί οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ;

Τί σημαίνει ἡ πρώτη ἐκ τοῦ βήματος τῶν ἱερέων ἔξοδος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως διὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου εἰσοδος;

Τί τὸ «Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν», καὶ τί ἡ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ εὐφημία;

Τί τὸ ἀνέρχεσθαι τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ εἰς τὸ βῆμα εἰσερχέσθαι;

46. Τὰς ἱεράς δὲ τετελεκώς ὁ ἱεράρχης ἔξωθεν εὐχὰς ἴσταται, οἱ διάκονοί τε συμπαρίστανται, οὐ τοὺς ἀποστόλους μόνον τυποῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς τοῖς αὐτοῦ μυστηρίοις καθυπουργήσαντας. τῶν ἱερέων δὲ τοῦ βήματος ἐνδοθεν τετελεκότων καὶ αὐτῶν τὰς εὐχὰς, καὶ ἐξεληλυθότων, ἡ τῶν θείων ἀγγέλων δηλοῦται κατάβασις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἀναστάσει καὶ Ἀναλήψει· ὅτε καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὑποκλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν σὺν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, τοῦτο εὐχεται, ἀγγέλους συνεισιόντας καὶ συλλειτουργοῦντας εὐρεῖν. καὶ ἐν τῷ κλίνειν τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ ἀναστῆναι, τὴν Ἀνάστασιν πᾶσι φανεροῖ τοῦ Κυρίου. τοῦτο δὲ κηρύττει καὶ ὁ διάκονος, τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἀνυψῶν, τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἔγερσιν καὶ αὐτὸς καταγγέλων, καὶ μεγαλοφώνως ἐκβοῶν «Σοφία, ὀρθοί,» δι' ἔργων καὶ λόγων μαρτυρῶν τὴν Ἀνάστασιν. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ εὐθὺς ὁ τύπος τῆς Ἀναλήψεως· καὶ λαμπάδων μὲν προπορευομένων, τῶν διακόνων δὲ κατὰ συζυγίαν προηγουμένων, τοῦ ἱεροῦ τε Εὐαγγελίου κατεχομένου, καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως αὐτοῦ παρὰ διακόνων ἐκατέρωθεν παρακρατουμένου, ὅπισθεν δ'⁵⁰ ἐφεπομένων τῶν λοιπῶν ἱερέων.

47. Καὶ τοῦ «Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν Χριστῷ» λίαν λαμπρῶς ἁδομένου, καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως εὐφημουμένου, ἡ Ἀνάστασις καὶ Ἀνάληψις σημαίνεται, ὡς ἀναγέγραπται, τοῦ Σωτῆρος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διάκονος, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐκφωνήσας, τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος κηρύττει Ἀνάστασιν· ὁ δὲ χορὸς τῶν ἱερέων καὶ διακόνων, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, τοὺς ἀποστόλους συνόντας τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ τοῦτον ὁρῶντας καὶ τοὺς ἱερωτάτους ἀγγέλους.

48. Ὁ δὲ γε ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸν τυποῖ ἀναστάντα τὸν Κύριον, τοῖς μαθηταῖς τε ἐμφανισθέντα καὶ ἀναλαμβανόμενον ἀπὸ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανοῦς. διὸ καὶ τῆς γῆς τύπον εἶπομεν ἔχειν τὸν καθόλου ἔξω⁵¹ ναόν, οὐρανὸν δὲ τὸ ἱερώτατον βῆμα. ὅθεν ὡς καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ προφητεῦει, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι

46. The hierarch, having completed the sacred prayers outside, remains standing and the deacons stand beside him, typifying not only the apostles, but also the angels who have rendered service to His mysteries. When the priests in the sanctuary have also completed their prayers and have come out, they represent the descent of the divine angels at the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ;⁷⁹ when the bishop bows his head with the priests, he prays that he find the angels gathering together and concelebrating.⁸⁰ In bowing his head and rising, he manifests to all the Resurrection of the Lord. The deacon proclaims this, raising the Gospel, and announcing the rising of the Savior, crying out in a loud voice, "Wisdom! Stand!"⁸¹ testifying to the Resurrection through deeds and words. Immediately after this comes the symbol of the Ascension: candles go before, the deacons precede in pairs, and the sacred Gospel is carried, the bishop himself is supported by deacons on each side, and the other priests follow behind.

<53.> What do the bishop outside the sanctuary and standing below and those with him typify?

§ L 122

<54.> What do the first exit from the sanctuary of the priests and then their entrance with the bishop with the Gospel signify?

47. When "Come, let us worship Christ"⁸² is sung loudly and clearly and the bishop is acclaimed, the Resurrection and Ascension of the Savior are signified, as said above. For the deacon crying out proclaims, as was said, the Savior's Resurrection; the choir of the priests and deacons, as was said, represents the apostles being together with the Lord, beholding Him and the most sacred angels.

<55.> What does the "Come, let us worship Christ," represent and what the acclamation of the bishop at the entrance?

48. The bishop typifies the risen Lord Himself, who appeared to the disciples and was assumed from earth to heaven. Therefore we said that the whole outer nave is a figure of the earth, while the most sacred sanctuary is a figure of heaven. For this reason, as David prophesied, angels escorted the Lord as He was assumed, and cried

<56.> What is the meaning of the priest ascending and entering the sanctuary?

§ L 124

⁷⁹ Cf. E 43 footnote 72.

⁸⁰ Cf. the prayer of the entrance (CHR and BAS): Brightman 368; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 50.

⁸¹ Diaconal acclamation at the first entrance ("the Little Entrance"): Brightman 368;

Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα 51.

⁸² The eisodikon chanted as the ministers enter the sanctuary: Papagiannês 181.

PG 721
f 182

Τί τὸ κλείεσθαι τὰ
ἅγια θύρια, καὶ
ἀνοίγεσθαι
εἰσερχομένου τοῦ
ιερέως;⁵²

Τί τὸ θυμιάσαι
κύκλῳ τὴν ἁγίαν
τράπεζαν;

Τί δηλοῖ τὸ
δικηρίον, καὶ διὰ τί
σφραγίζει τὸ
Εὐαγγέλιον;

Τί διδάσκει ὁ
τριάγιος ὕμνος;

Διὰ τί πάλιν ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς τρικηρίῳ
σφραγίζει τὸ
Εὐαγγέλιον;

προέπεμπον τὸν Κύριον ἄγγελοι, καὶ τὸ «Ἄρατε / πύλας»
ἐβόων τοῖς ὑπεράνω, καὶ βασιλέα τῆς δόξης ὠνόμαζον ||
καὶ Κύριον καὶ κραταῖον αὐτὸν ὡμολόγουν.

49. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ποιεῖ, μετὰ προπομπῆς
εὐφημοῦσα εἰσιόντα ἐν τῷ ἱερατείῳ τὸν ἱεράρχην. αἱ
ἱεραὶ τε πύλαι τοῦ βήματος κλειόμεναι πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν
καὶ ἀνοιγόμεναι πάλιν ἐν τῷ εἰσερχεσθαι τοῦτο
δηλοῦσιν.

50. Εἰσελθόντος δὲ καὶ κύκλῳ τὴν ἱερὰν θυμιάσαντος
τράπεζαν, τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκτυποῦται διὰ τούτου ἡ
παρουσία· ὅπερ ἦλθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, πρὸς
τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνεληλυθότος.

51. Ἀλλὰ καὶ δικηρίῳ τινὶ σφραγίζων ὁ ἱεράρχης τὸ
ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον α') τὴν διὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως δηλοῖ
ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς φωταύγειαν τοῦ διφυοῦς Ἰησοῦ,
καὶ β') τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν νοητὴν τε καὶ
αἰσθητήν. τῇ γὰρ αὐτοῦ σαρκώσει ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, οὐ
μόνον ἀνθρώπους διπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους
αὐτοὺς κατηύγασε, καὶ γ') ὅτι ὁ σαρκωθείς αὐτός ἐστιν
ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱός.

52. Ὁ δὲ τριάγιος ὕμνος εὐθὺς λεγόμενος τὸ τῆς
Τριάδος μυστήριον δείκνυσιν, α') ὅπερ ἡ σάρκωσις τοῦ
ἐνὸς τῆς Τριάδος ἐκήρυξε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· διὰ γὰρ τοῦ
σαρκωθέντος Λόγου τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα
ἐγνώκαμεν, β') ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὴν συμφωνίαν καὶ ἔνωσιν
ἀγγέλων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, γ') διὸ καὶ ἐνδοθεν οὗτος
παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ ἔξωθεν παρὰ κληρικῶν τε καὶ
λαϊκῶν ᾄδεται· μία γὰρ ἡ⁵³ ἐκκλησία ἀγγέλων τε καὶ
ἀνθρώπων διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέγονε.

53. Κηρύττων δὲ γε τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τρικηρίῳ
πάλιν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον σφραγίζει, τῆς Τριάδος ἐν τῷ
Εὐαγγελίῳ παραδηλῶν τὸ κήρυγμα, καὶ δι'⁵⁴ αὐτῆς
εὐχόμενος κρατύνεσθαι τοῦτο, ἄμπελον αὐτὸ καλῶν,
ὡς⁵⁵ τῆς ἀληθινῆς εὐφροσύνης πρόξενον, καὶ μετὰ

52 ἀρχιερέως PG.

53 ἡ om. Z.

54 δι' om. PG.

55 After ὡς, τὸ add PG.

out "Lift up the gates" to those above. They called Him King of glory and they confessed that He is Lord and the Mighty one.⁸³

49. And this is indeed what the Church does: acclaiming the hierarch with a processional escort as he enters the sanctuary. The sacred doors of the sanctuary, closed before the entrance and open during the entrance, represent this.

<57.> What do closing the holy doors and opening them when the bishop enters represent?

§ L 125

50. Entering and incensing around the sacred altar typifies the presence of the Spirit, who came to us from heaven after Christ had ascended to heaven.

<58.> What does the incensing around the holy altar represent?

§ L 126

51. But the hierarch sealing the sacred Gospel <by a sign of the cross> with a dikirion also 1) represents the resplendent light in heaven and on earth through the becoming human⁸⁴ of Jesus who has two natures, and 2) our spiritual⁸⁵ and perceptible salvation through Him. For through His taking flesh the Word of God enlightened in a twofold manner not only men, but also the angels themselves; and 3) that He who is incarnate is the Son of God.

<59.> What does the dikirion represent and why does he seal the Gospel <with the sign of the cross>?

§ L 129

52. The Trisagion hymn, chanted immediately afterwards, shows the mystery of the Trinity, 1) which the incarnation⁸⁶ of one of the Trinity proclaimed to men. For through the incarnate Word we knew not only the Father and the Spirit, 2) but indeed the agreement and unity of men and angels also. 3) Therefore He is praised in song by the priests inside and by the clerics and the laity outside, for the Church of angels and men has become one through Christ.

<60.> What does the Trisagion hymn teach?

53. So then as he proclaims this, the bishop again seals the Gospel <by the sign of the cross> with the trikirion, indicating the proclamation of the Trinity in the Gospel, and praying through the Trinity for this <i.e., the proclamation> to be strengthened, calling it "a vine,"⁸⁷ as the

<61.> Why does the bishop again seal the Gospel <by a sign of the cross> with the trikirion?

§ L 129

⁸³ Cf. Ps 23 (24):7-8.

⁸⁴ Cf. E 8 footnote 15.

⁸⁵ Cf. E 17 footnote 26.

⁸⁶ Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

⁸⁷ Cf. the bishop's blessings after the Trisagion: *Ἀρχιερατικόν* 22; cf. Ps. 79 (80):15.

τοῦ Θεοπάτορος ἐπισκοπῆς θείας ἀξιοθῆναι καὶ
καταρτισμοῦ προσευχόμενος.

Τί δηλοῖ ἡ ἐν τῷ
θείῳ συνθρόνῳ τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως ἀνοδος.⁵⁶
τί τὸ ἐκ τοῦ
συνθρόνου διὰ τοῦ
τρικηρίου
f 182v
σφραγίζειν;
PG 724
Τί τὸ καθῆσθαι ἐν
τῷ συνθρόνῳ;⁵⁷ τί
τὸ «Εἰρήνη»⁵⁸
ἄπασιν» εἰπεῖν;

54. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ θείῳ ἀνελθὼν συνθρόνῳ, ὃ δὴ
τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς καθέδραν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ, κάκειθὲν τε τῷ τρικηρίῳ σφραγίζειν, διὰ τῆς
Τριάδος τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιβεβαιῶσι, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς
εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἀνεληλυθώς, τὴν λάμψιν τῆς Τριάδος,
ἣν τὸ φῶς σημαίνει, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἡμῖν ἐβράβευσε.
καθίσας δὲ τῷ συνθρόνῳ, τὸν Χριστὸν || ἐκμιμούμενος
συγκαθέδρους ἔχων καὶ τοὺς συνεπισκόπους /καὶ ἱερεῖς,
μιμουμένους τοὺς ἀποστόλους «Εἰρήνη»⁵⁹ ἄπασιν» λέγει
καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῖ τὴν ἔνωσιν. Χριστὸς γάρ ἐστιν «ὁ λύσας
τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφότερα
ἓν», τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ, φησὶ Παῦλος, καὶ τὰ⁶⁰ ἐπὶ γῆς.

56 καὶ add PG.
PG.

57 καὶ add PG.
60 τὰ om. PG.

58 εἰρήνη Z² and PG] εἰρήνην Z¹.

59 Εἰρήνην

effecting agent of true joy,⁸⁸ and praying to be worthy of the divine guardianship⁸⁹ with God the Father and of being rendered suitable <for it>.

<G. Part Four: The Liturgy of the Word>

54. But also ascending to the divine synthronon, which recalls the seat of Christ at the right hand of the Father, and from there with the trikirion sealing <by the sign of the cross>, he confirms the holiness upon us through the Trinity and that Christ, having ascended to heaven, granted us the brilliance of the Trinity, which the light <of the trikirion> signifies, and its blessing.⁹⁰ Once seated on the synthronon, he imitates Christ by having taken a seat together with his fellow bishops and priests, who imitate the apostles, and says, "Peace to all."⁹¹ This represents unity. For, as Paul says, Christ is "the one who destroyed the hostility in His flesh and made both one,"⁹² what is in heaven and what is on earth.

<62.> What does the bishop's going up to his divine synthronon represent?

What does the sealing <by a sign of the cross> with the trikirion from the synthronon in the apse represent?

§ L 127, L 130

<63.> What is the meaning of being seated on the synthronon and of saying, "Peace to all"?

⁸⁸ Cf. Ps 103 (104):15.

⁸⁹ I.e. the episcopacy. Cf. ἐπισκοπή, Liddell-Scott (ἐπισκοπεία/ἐπισκοπή) § I. 5, 657; Lampe § A and C, 532.

⁹⁰ Symeon may refer here to the third troparion of the eighth ode of matins of the Theophany: Τριάδος ἡ φανέρωσις ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ γέγονεν· αὕτη γὰρ ὑπέρθεος φύσις. Ὁ Πατὴρ ἐφώνησεν· Οὗτος ὁ βαπτιζόμενος Υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός μου· τὸ Πνεῦμα συμπαρήν τῷ ὁμοίῳ· ὃν εὐλογοῦσι λαοὶ καὶ ὑπερυψοῦσιν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας ("The manifestation of the Trinity occurred in the Jordan, the nature of the supreme God. The Father proclaimed, 'This one being baptized is my beloved Son.' The Spirit rested on its equal, whom people praise and exalt to the ages," [Μηναιὸν (Menaion)], 12 vols. [Athens, 1904] 5:81), which is currently said in Slavic usage after the bishop goes to his throne in the sanctuary: Чиножник архиерейского священнослужения (Servicebook of episcopal liturgies; Moscow, 1982) 1:67.

⁹¹ This ancient greeting, originally the opening of the Byzantine liturgy (Frans van de Paverd, *Zur Geschichte der Messliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts. Analyse der Quellen bei Johannes Chrysostomus*, OCA 187 [1970] 425–428), is retained by all modern Byzantine liturgies except the Greek (eg. Russian, Чиножник 1:67 et al.). It is found in older Greek texts, such as the editio princeps, Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσόστομου, Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ ἡ τῶν προηγουμένων (The Divine Liturgies of St. John Chrysostom, Basil the Great and of the Presanctified), ed. Dēmētrios Doukas (Rome, 1526) f. Γ1a, l. 4 and Goar 68, no. 88.

⁹² Eph 2:14.

Διὰ τί πρῶτον
ἀναγινώσκεται ὁ
ἀπόστολος, εἴτα τὸ
Εὐαγγέλιον;
Διὰ τί
ἀναγινωσκομένων
τῶν ἀποστολικῶν,
κάθηνται ἀρχιερεῖς
τε καὶ ἱερεῖς, οὐ μὴν
οἱ διάκονοι;

Διὰ τί πρὸ τοῦ
Εὐαγγελίου τὸ
«ἀλληλούϊα»;
Τί σημαίνει ἡ τοῦ
Εὐαγγελίου
ἀνάγνωσις;
Διὰ τί πρὸ τοῦ
Εὐαγγελίου
θυμίαμα;

Διὰ τί τοῦ
Εὐαγγελίου
ἀναγινωσκομένου,
ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
ἐκβάλλει τὸ
ὠμοφόριον;

Διὰ τί ὁ διάκονος
διπλώσας, φέρει τῇ
χειρὶ τὸ ὠμοφόριον,
καὶ τὸ τρικῆριον δὲ
κατέχει, καὶ τῶν
ἀγίων
προπορεύεται;

55. Εἴτα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἡ ἀνάγνωσις λόγων, ὁ
δηλοῖ τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἀποστολήν.
κάθηνται δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς ἀναγινωσκομένων
τούτων, πλὴν διακόνων, ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι τὴν ἀποστολικὴν
χάριν ἔχουσι.

56. Πρὸ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου δὲ τὸ «ἀλληλουῖα» ὕμνος· ὁ
δὲ αἶνον Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπιδημίαν δηλοῖ θείας χάριτος, ἥτις
ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ἀνάγνωσις. αὕτη δὲ ἡ
ἀνάγνωσις τὸ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου
κήρυγμα φαίνει, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου ὑπὸ
τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ γεγονός. διὸ καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ
ἀπόστολος, ἔπειτα δὲ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον κηρύσσεται, ὅτι
πρῶτον μὲν ἐνισχυθέντες ἐξαπεστάλησαν οἱ μαθηταί,
εἴτα τὴν οἰκουμένην περιδραμόντες τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον
ἐκήρυξαν. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου θυμίαμα, διὰ τὴν
δεδομένην ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος
ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ⁶¹ οἰκουμένῃ. ἀναγινωσκομένου δὲ τοῦ
Εὐαγγελίου ἀποτίθεται τὸ ὠμοφόριον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ δουλείαν ἐπιδεικνύς τῷ Κυρίῳ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
διὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ὁράται φθεγγόμενος, καὶ ὡς παρὼν
ἐστι, τότε τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς σαρκώσεως αὐτοῦ, τὸ
ὠμοφόριον λέγω, οὐ τολμᾷ ἐνδεδῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐξελών
τῶν ὤμων, δίδωσιν αὐτὸ διακόνῳ.

57. Ὃς καὶ κατέχει τοῦτο διπλώσας τῇ δεξιᾷ, τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως μὲν πλησίον ἰστάμενος, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν δὲ
δώρων προπορευόμενος, ὃς δὲ καὶ τὸ τρικῆριον τῇ χειρὶ
κατέχει. σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι θεωρία
πᾶσιν ἔσται ὁ Ἰησοῦς, σεσαρκωμένος καὶ τετρωμένος
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰς ὧν τῆς Τριάδος καταλάμπων ἡμᾶς
ταῖς αὐγαῖς τῆς θεότητος.

55. Then the apostolic words are read, an act which represents the sending of the apostles to the nations. Bishops and priests are seated during this reading, but not deacons, because the former have the apostolic grace.

<64.> Why is the apostle first read and then the Gospel?

§ L 131

<65.> Why are bishops and priests seated during the apostolic reading, but not the deacons?

56. Before the Gospel comes the "alleluia" hymn, which represents praise of God and the coming of divine grace, which is the reading of the Gospel. This reading itself manifests the proclamation of the Gospel in the whole world by His disciples, which took place after the Ascension of the Lord. Therefore, first the Epistle is proclaimed, and then the Gospel, because the disciples, having first been strengthened, were sent out, then they proclaimed the Gospel as they went throughout the whole world. Before the Gospel there is incense because the grace of the Spirit is given by the Gospel in the whole world. During the reading of the Gospel the bishop removes the omophorion, showing his own status as servant to the Lord. For since He is perceived to be speaking through the Gospel and is present, at this time <the bishop> does not dare wear the icon of His incarnation,⁹³ that is, the omophorion. Rather, he takes it from his shoulders and gives it to a deacon.

<66.> Why does the "alleluia" come before the Gospel?

§ L 132

<67.> What does the reading of the Gospel mean?

<68.> Why is there incense before the Gospel?

<69.> Why does the bishop remove the omophorion?

57. Standing near the bishop, <the deacon> holds it in his right hand, folded in two. Going before the sacred gifts, he holds the trikirion with his <left> hand. This signifies that in the future all will contemplate Jesus, who was incarnate and wounded for us, who is one of the Trinity making the sunlight of divinity shine down on us.

<70.> Why does the deacon fold the omophorion in two and carry it in his hand and hold the trikirion and go before the holy things?

§ L 136

93 Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

PG 725

Τί δηλοῖ τὸ
κατελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ
συνθρόνου τὸν
ἀρχιερέα, καὶ
τρικηρίῳ σφραγίσαι
τοῖς;

Τί τὸ προσελθεῖν
τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ,
καὶ εὐχέσθαι τὸν
ἀρχιερέα;

Τί τὸ τοὺς
κατηχουμένους
ἐκβάλλεσθαι;

Πῶς δεῖ τοῖς δώροις
καὶ ὑπὲρ τίνων
προσφέρειν
μερίδας;

58. Κατερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς καθέδρας, τὴν /ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς δηλοῖ τοῦ Σωτῆρος πρόνοιαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν, ὅτι καὶ ἀνελθών,⁶² || ἡμῶν οὐ κεχώρισται διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων εὐχῇ σφραγίζων μετὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τῷ τρικηρίῳ τὸν λαόν, τὸ συστήναι τὴν εὐσεβῆ βασιλείαν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἱερωσύνης καὶ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ἐνδείκνυσι καὶ ταῦτας εὐχεται μένειν διὰ τῆς χάριτος τῆς Τριάδος, ἐπεὶ καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι αὐτὸς ἐπηγγείλατο. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταβῆναι τῇ αὐτοῦ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ πάλιν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ. ὁ καὶ φανερώτερον παριστᾷ ἢ τῶν ἀγίων δώρων ἐνδοξος εἰσόδος· δείκνυται γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀγίων εισόδου. τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ δὲ προσελθών, τοῦ ἔργου ἀρχεται τῶν εὐχῶν, δεικνὺς ἑαυτὸν ὑπηρετήν τοῦ μυστηρίου.

59. Κατηχούμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἀπολύονται, καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ μένειν παρακελεύονται. ἐπεὶ ὁ καιρὸς οὗτος τὸν τῆς συντελείας δηλοῖ καιρὸν· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ κηρυχθῆναι, φησί, τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ «τότε ἦξει τὸ τέλος». ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῷ τέλει «ἀποστελεῖ» φησί «τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ» καὶ διαχωρίσουσι τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀπὸ τῶν δικαίων, τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ποιεῖ, καὶ βοᾷ μὲν ἐξέρχεσθαι τοὺς κατηχουμένους, μένειν δὲ μόνους τοὺς πιστούς. ὅθεν καὶ νοεῖν ἔξεστιν, ὁπόσῃν ἔχειν ὀφείλουσιν οἱ πιστοὶ προσοχὴν περὶ τοῦ μὴ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀκοινωνήτοις, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ἱερεῖς, εἰ γὰρ μὴ προσευχῇ κοινωνῆσαι θέμις, πολλῷ μᾶλλον θυσίας.

60. Οἱ καὶ τῶν προδήλως ἀμαρτανόντων πιστῶν τὰς προσφοράς ἕνεκα θυσίας οὐκ ὀφείλουσιν ὡς ἔτυχε δέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐκζητεῖν. κοινωνία γὰρ γίνεται τῇ προσφερομένῃ μερίδι, καὶ οὐ χρὴ τοὺς ἀναξίως ἔχοντας τῆς θυσίας κοινωνεῖν.

62 ἡμῶν οὐ... ἑτέρας εὐχῆς, [§ 64] om Z. One folio is missing in Z.

58. When the bishop descends from the seat, this represents the Savior's providence and guardianship for us from heaven, because once He ascended He is not separated from us. Therefore in the prayer for the sovereigns, too, sealing the people <with the sign of the cross> with the trikirion after the Gospel shows that the pious⁹⁴ empire is held together by His priesthood and the Gospel. <The bishop> prays that these continue through the grace of the Trinity, since He promised to be with us. But this also witnesses to His descending again to us at His second coming, which the glorious entrance of the holy gifts sets forth even more clearly, for this is shown through the bishop and the entrance of the holy things. Having approached the altar, he begins the task of saying the prayers, a task which shows that he is a minister⁹⁵ of the mystery.

59. Right afterwards the catechumens are dismissed and the faithful are exhorted to remain. For this time represents the time of consummation, since scripture says that when the Gospel has been preached throughout the whole world, "then the end will come."⁹⁶ And since at the end it says, "He will send His angels,"⁹⁷ and they will separate the evil from the righteous, the Church also does this: it calls the catechumens to depart and calls only the faithful to remain. For this reason, one may consider what great attention the faithful, and especially the priests, must have not to be in communion with the excommunicated, and especially the others' priests. For if it is not permitted to share prayer with them, how much more is it forbidden <to share> the sacrifice?

60. Nor is it permitted for priests to receive prosphoras for the sacrifice from the faithful who are openly sinners, as has happened, but they must first enjoin penance, for communion occurs through the offered particles and those who are unworthy must not have communion in the sacrifice.

<71.> What do the bishop descending from the synthronon and the threefold sealing <by a sign of the cross> with the trikirion represent?
§ L 134

<72.> What do the bishop's approaching the altar and praying <represent>?

<73.> What does the dismissal of the catechumens <represent>?

§ L 135

<74.> How and for whom should one offer particles?
§ E 108-109, L 105
§ L 135

94 Cf. E 1 footnote 2.

95 Or "servant," ὑπηρέτης, Liddell-Scott (ὑπηρέτης/ὑπηρέτης) 1872; Lampe 1444.

96 Mt 24:14.

97 Mt 24:31, Mk 13:27.

61. Οἶδα δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐνταῦθα φιλονεικοῦσί τινες, πῶς λέγομεν ἐξέρχεσθαι τοὺς κατηχουμένους, μὴ ὄντων κατηχουμένων; ὥς οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πλανῶνται, μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφάς, μήτε τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μυστήρια, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁμοίως. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσὶ κατηχούμενοι, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τῶν πιστῶν ἀβάπτιστα πάντα βρέφη, ἅτινα τεχθέντα, εὐθὺς εὐχὰς δεχόμενα ἱεράς, οὕτω πιστὰ γεγεννημένα, μηδὲ τέλεια τῷ βαπτίσματι, κατηχούμενοί εἰσι τοίνυν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ πάντοτε μὲν εὐχόμεθα, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ δὲ τεσσαρακοστῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον φῶτισμα εὐτρεπιζομένων εὐχὰς καὶ αἰτήσεις ποιούμεθα. δεύτερον δέ, κατηχουμένους ἔχομεν τοὺς ὑπ' ἀσεβῶν κρατηθέντας, καὶ τὴν μὲν πίστιν κατέχοντας ἐν καρδίᾳ, μελετῶντας δὲ ἀποστήναι τῶν ἀσεβῶν, καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσελθεῖν· καὶ ἔτι τοὺς προσελθόντας μὲν, ἔτι τοὺς⁶³ κατηχουμένους δέ, καὶ μήπω τετελεσμένους τῷ θείῳ μύρῳ. τρίτον δὲ κατηχουμένους ἔχομεν τοὺς /ἐγκλήμασι περιπεπτωκότας, ἢ φόνου ἢ ἐτέρου τινὸς χαλεποῦ ἁμαρτήματος. οἷς οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνεῖν· ἀλλ' ἡ ἀκρόασις μόνη συγκεχώρηται αὐτοῖς τῶν θείων λογίων. καὶ τοῦτο δ' ὕστερον ἐγεγόνει φιλανθρωπία τῶν πατέρων· πρότερον γάρ, ὥς οἱ κανόνες φασίν, ἐξωθοῦντο καὶ αὐτοί.

PG 728

Διὰ τί πρὸ τῆς
εἰσόδου τῶν ἀγίων
ἀπονίπτεται ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς;

62. Μελλόντων δὲ τῶν θείων προτίθεσθαι δώρων, πρότερον ἀπονίπτεται πάντων ἐνώπιον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, δηλῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ καθαρὸν περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν καὶ ἄληπτον, καὶ ὅτι δίχα ῥύπου παντός, ὥς δυνατόν

61. I know that some will argue here, "Why do we tell the catechumens to leave when there are no catechumens?" Just as those who know neither the scriptures nor the mysteries of the Church go astray in other matters, so do they on this point. For there are always catechumens in the Church; first, all unbaptized children of the faithful, who, receiving immediately the sacred prayers when born but not consecration through baptism, have not become members of the faithful and are catechumens. Therefore we always pray for them and in holy Lent we make prayers and supplications for those preparing for holy illumination.⁹⁸ Secondly, we regard as catechumens those who are under the authority of the impious,⁹⁹ but hold the faith in their heart, intending to break away from the impious and enter the Church. Both those entering and the catechumens have not yet been consecrated with divine chrism. And thirdly we regard as catechumens those who have committed a crime or some other serious sin. It is not possible for them to partake of the mysteries, but they are allowed only to listen to the divine words. This concession came about later through the clemency¹⁰⁰ of the fathers, for earlier, as the canons say, these people were also expelled.

<H. Part Five: The Liturgy of the Eucharist>

62. When the divine gifts are about to be offered, the bishop first washes <his hands> in the presence of everyone,¹⁰¹ representing the purity and incomprehensibility of <Christ's> sacred-service, and that it is necessary to

<75.> Why does the bishop wash before the entrance of the holy things?

98 Symeon here makes reference to the practice of praying for baptismal candidates during Lent during the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts during the week (Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα 112–113), at times by name (Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας [The three liturgies according to the Athenian codices], ed. Panagiotēs Trempeles [Athens, 1935] 208–210), and even during the lenten Sunday Liturgy of St. Basil the Great (ibid. 166).

99 I.e. the non-Orthodox. The terms δυσσέβεια and δυσσεβής (lit. "impiety" and "impious") refer in Byzantine texts to all non-Orthodox religions and practices, cf. Lampe 393, E 1 footnote 2.

100 Or "love for mankind." Cf. φιланθρωπία, Liddell-Scott (φιλανθρώπευμα/φιλανθρωπία) 1032; Lampe 1475–1476.

101 Washing of hands: Ἀρχιερατικὸν 18.

ἀνθρώπων, προσέρχεσθαι τῷ καθαρῷ δεῖ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καθαρωτάτοις ἐξυπηρετεῖν μυστηρίοις.

Πῶς μετὰ
λαμπρότητος ἢ τῶν
θείων δώρων
γίνεται εἵσοδος;

63. Ἡ δὲ τῶν τιμίων μετὰ ταῦτα δορυφορία καὶ εἵσοδος μετὰ λαμπρότητος γίνεται ἀναγνωστῶν, διακόνων, ιερῶν, μετὰ σκευῶν ιερῶν, προπορευομένων, ἐφεπομένων, ὅτι τοῦτο τὴν τελευταίαν ἐμφαίνει παρουσίαν Χριστοῦ, ὡς εἵπομεν, ἐν ἣ ἐλεύσεται μετὰ δόξης. διὸ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν μὲν τὸ ὠμοφόριον ἔρχεται τὸν σταυρὸν ἔχον, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ σημεῖον μέλλον φανῆναι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰησοῦν· μεθ' ὃ καὶ οἱ ἐξῆς διάκονοι, τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπέχοντες τάξιν· εἶτα καὶ οἱ τὰ θεῖα δῶρα κατέχοντες, μεθ' οὓς οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱερὸν κατέχοντες ἐπιπλόν, ὃ γυμνὸν ἔχει καὶ νεκρὸν εἰκονισμένον τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

Διὰ τί
ὑπερέχονται τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως οἱ
f 184
εἰσερχόμενοι τῶν
ιερωμένων, τῆς
βασιλείας
μεμνημένοι τοῦ
Θεοῦ;

64. Οὗτοι οὖν περιδραμόντες τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἐπευξάμενοι τῷ λαῷ, εἰσέρχονται τὸ θυσιαστήριον, τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πάντες ὑπερευχόμενοι, ὅτε καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρας εὐχῆς, || ἀλλὰ τῆς βασιλείας μέμνηται τοῦ Θεοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διδάσκει, καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ τέλει μετὰ τὴν τῶν πονηρῶν ὑποχώρησιν, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀλλοτριώσιν, τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπιφανέντος, οὐκ ἄλλο ἔσται κληρονομία τοῖς πιστοῖς ἢ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλεία. βασιλεία δὲ Θεοῦ αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἡ θεωρία τῆς οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ, τὸ μέχρι θανάτου ταπεινωθῆναι, τὸ σφαγῆναι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸ ἐσφαγμένον ἐκείνου τὸ ζωοποιὸν καὶ θεῖον σῶμα καθορᾶν, τὰς τρώσεις ἐπιδεικνύμενον, τὸ ἀπαθανατισθὲν μὲν καὶ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου ἡμῖν τὴν νίκην βραβεῦσαν, ἐκ τῶν ὠτειλῶν δὲ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν θέωσιν μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἡμῖν παρεχόμενον, καὶ τροφήν καὶ πόσιν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ φῶς, αὐτὸν τὸν ἄρτον τῆς ζωῆς, τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς, τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὄντα. διὸ ἡ εἵσοδος αὕτη ἅμα καὶ τὴν δευτέραν σημαίνει παρουσίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, καὶ τὴν ταφήν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔσται, ὡς εἴρηται, ἢ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι θεωρία, βασιλεία τε

approach the Holy One and to serve His most pure mysteries as free as humanly possible from all impurity.

63. After this, the procession of the honorable things and the entrance takes place with splendor, preceded and followed by lectors, deacons, and priests with sacred vessels,¹⁰² because, as we said, this manifests the final coming of Christ, when He will come with glory. Therefore the omophorion goes first bearing the cross which represents the sign of Jesus that will appear from heaven and Jesus himself. After it come the deacons one after another who have the order of the angels; then those carrying the divine gifts; and after them all the others and those carrying over their head the sacred great veil which has the depiction of Jesus naked and dead.¹⁰³

<76.> How does the entrance of the divine gifts take place with splendor?

§ L 110

64. Having gone around the nave and having prayed for the people, these <ministers> then enter the sanctuary as all pray for the bishop,¹⁰⁴ since no other prayer but for the kingdom of God is called to mind. All this teaches that at the end, after the retreat of the evil ones and their <final> separation from God, after the Savior has appeared, the inheritance of the faithful will be none other than the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God is Christ Himself and the contemplation of His economy <of salvation> is to behold His being humbled unto death and slain for us, His slain, life-giving, and divine body, showing the wounds, which body, on the one hand, became immortal, granting us victory over death, while from His wounds, it provides us incorruptibility, life, deification with the angels, food, drink, life, and light, this very bread of life, the true light, eternal life, which is Christ Jesus Himself. Therefore this entrance signifies at the same time both the second coming of the Savior and the burial, for, as was said, He will be the future contemplation and the

<77.> Why do those of the ordained who enter <the sanctuary> pray for the bishop, calling to mind the kingdom of God?

§ L 136

102 Procession of the Great Entrance: Brightman 378–379; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 58–59.

103 Symeon is the only author known to use the term τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιπλον (Henri Estienne, *Θησαυρὸς τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης-Thesaurus graecae linguae*, 9 vols. [Paris, 1831–1854] 3:1736) for the large veil covering the gifts, usually known as the ἀήρ ("aer") or *vozdyx* in Slavonic texts. In modern usage, this veil no longer bears the image of the θρόνος, the scene of Jesus dead, about to be prepared for burial. Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 216–217.

104 *Ἀρχιερατικὸν* 20.

καὶ ἀπόλαυσις, ἣν καὶ ληστής ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ φωτισθεὶς, προέγνω καὶ προεκήρυξε λέγων «Μνήσθητί μου, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου».

PG 729

Διὰ τί

προσπίπτουσι τοῖς
ιερεῦσιν ἐν τῇ
μεγάλῃ εἰσόδῳ
πιστοί;

65. Προσπίπτουσι δὲ πάντες τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν οἱ πιστοὶ /δικαίως, α') τὸ μὲν, τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτῶν ἐξαιτούμενοι, καὶ μνησθῆναι τούτων ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ δεόμενοι, τὸ δέ, τιμῶντες τὰ θεῖα δῶρα. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μήπω ἱερουργήθη, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ προθέσει ἀνετέθησαν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκείσε εὐχὴν ἀνέφερε, καὶ προσδέξασθαι ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω θυσιαστήριον· εἰ οὖν καὶ μήπω τετελεσμένα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τελεσθῆναι ἡτοιμασμένα εἰσὶ, καὶ ἀνάθημα Θεῷ καὶ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος.

f 184v

Ἀπάντησις πρὸς
ἀντιλέγοντα.⁶⁴

66. β') Οἱ κατὰ τὸν Κάϊν οὖν διαφθονούμενοι τῷ Ἄβελ ἡμῖν ἀλαζόνες, καὶ ὑπερηφάνως κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων φερόμενοι ἐντραπήτωσαν, βλασφημοῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ κατάκριμα φοβηθήτωσαν. οὐ γὰρ εἰδωλολατροῦμεν ἡμεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς δώροις προσπίπτοντες· ἀπαγε· ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνατεθειμένοις τῷ Θεῷ δι' εὐχῶν δώροις, καὶ μήπω τετελεσμένοις, τὴν τιμὴν ἀπονέμομεν. ὥς ἡγιασμένοις τῇ προσαγωγῇ, ὥς ἀφιερωμένοις διὰ θειοτάτων εὐχῶν, ὥς ἀντιτύποις οὖσι τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ || καὶ αἵματος. οἱ δὲ λέγοντες ταῦτα λοιπὸν τὰ προσαγόμενα παρ' αὐτῶν ὥς εἰδῶλα πρὸ τῆς κυριακῆς φωνῆς μετὰ τὰς ἄλλας εὐχὰς ἔχουσι. καὶ ποῖαν ἔξουσιν ὅλως ἀπολογίαν οἱ τὰ ἀνατεθειμένα⁶⁵ ἐν τῇ προθέσει δῶρα τῷ Θεῷ εἰδῶλα, φεῦ, ὀνομάζοντες; καὶ τῶν δυσσεβῶν

kingdom and reward, which even the thief enlightened on the cross foresaw and proclaimed, saying, "Remember me, Lord, in Your kingdom."¹⁰⁵

65. It is right that all the faithful prostrate themselves before the priests, 1) asking for their prayers, and requesting to be remembered in the sacred-service, and also honoring the divine gifts. For even if <the gifts> have not been consecrated yet, they have been offered to God in the prothesis, when the priest offered a prayer at that point and asked that they be received on the altar on high.¹⁰⁶ So, although they are not yet consecrated, they have been prepared for the consecration and are offerings to God and antitypes of the Lord's body and blood.

66. 2) So, let the arrogant, who hate us as Cain did Abel,¹⁰⁷ and the blasphemers who behave haughtily toward the holy things,¹⁰⁸ be ashamed and fear the condemnation of God. For we do not commit idolatry in prostrating ourselves to the divine gifts — far from it! — but we give honor to the gifts offered to God through prayers, though they are not yet consecrated; <we do so> since they are sanctified by the presentation, are hallowed by most divine prayers and are antitypes of the body of Christ and His blood. Those who say this regard honoring these offerings before the Lord's words <are spoken>, even after the other prayers, as idolatry. What possible excuse will those have who call the gifts offered to God in the prothesis "idols"? Woe be to them! They are worse than the most

<78.> Why do the faithful prostrate themselves to the priests at the Great Entrance?

§ L 111.

Response to those who disagree

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Lk 23:42.

¹⁰⁶ Called "Εὐχή τῆς προθέσεως" ("Prayer of the prothesis"), the section to which Symeon refers reads, ... αὐτὸς εὐλόγησον τὴν πρόθεσιν ταύτην, καὶ πρόσδεξαι αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιον σου θυσιαστήριον ("... you yourself bless this offering and receive it on your super-celestial altar"), Brightman 360; Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα 47.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Gen 4:3-17.

¹⁰⁸ The Greek expression κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων is ambiguous, depending on whether τῶν ἁγίων is masculine or neuter. It could mean either "against the holy things" or "against the saints" (i.e., the holy ones). Unfortunately, the context is not entirely helpful. Symeon is discussing the way the holy gifts (τὰ ἅγια δῶρα) are revered when being brought to the altar, and τῶν ἁγίων could refer to the gifts, which are grammatically neuter. On the other hand, the first line of the section deals with "those who hate us, as Cain did Abel," which seems to imply a more personal animus. Like all Orthodox theologians, Symeon holds the saints and their opinions in the highest esteem and has said that he has learned what he knows from the fathers (cf. E 10).

εἰκονομάχων χείρονες οὗτοι, ὅτι αἱ μὲν θεῖαι εἰκόνες ἅγαι μὲν ὡς μορφώματα τῶν ἀληθινῶν, τὰ δῶρα δὲ ἀνατεθειμένα⁶⁶ Θεῷ, καὶ εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ προσαγόμενα. εἰ οὖν ταῖς ἱεραῖς εἰκόσι τιμὴν καὶ προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμειν ὀφείλομεν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς τοῖς δώροις, ἀντιτύποις οὖσιν, ὡς ὁ μέγας φησὶ Βασιλείως. γ') Καὶ πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι προσαγομένοις σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ τὰ θεῖα δὲ σκεύη χρηὶ ὑποπίπτειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν κενὰ τινα ἦ, ἁγιασμοῦ γὰρ πάντα μετέχει τῶν θείων δώρων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἱερουργουμένων. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐ θαυμαστόν, εἰ κενὰ τινὰ ἐστίν. εἰς τιμὴν γὰρ τῶν θείων δώρων ταῦτα τὰ σκεύη κατέχουσι, καὶ ἵνα οἱ θ' ὁρῶντες, οἱ τε ἐγγίζοντες, ἁγιάζωνται πάντες.

Διὰ τί καὶ ἱερὰ κενὰ
σκεύη ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ
οἱ ἱερεῖς
κατέχουσιν;

Διὰ τί καλύπτεται
τὰ θεῖα δῶρα ἐν τῇ
ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ;

67. Ἐπιτιθέμενα δὲ τὰ θεῖα δῶρα τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ, καλύπτεται, α') ὅτι οὐ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγνωσμένος ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ β') ὅτι σωματωθεὶς, οὐδ' οὕτω τοῦ κρυφίου τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος καὶ τῆς προνοίας ἐξέστη. ἀλλ' ἀκατάληπτός ἐστι καὶ ἄπειρος αἰεὶ, καὶ τοσοῦτον μόνον γινώσκεται, ὅσον αὐτὸς ἀποκαλύπτει.

Διὰ τί ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
εὐχὴν παρὰ
πάντων ἐξαιτεῖται;

68. Εὐχὴν δὲ παρὰ πάντων αἰτεῖται ὑποκλίνας ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, α') ἐπιγινώσκων καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον φρίττων καὶ ὑποστελλόμενος, καὶ β') τὸ ἀποστολικὸν πληρῶν τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι ἀλλήλοις τὰ παραπτώματα, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων εὐχεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ θαρρεῖ, ἄνθρωπος τελῶν καὶ αὐτός.

PG 732

Τί δηλοῖ τὸ
σφραγίσαι μετὰ
τὴν εἴσοδον τῷ
τρικηρίῳ τὸν λαόν;

69. /Σφραγίζει δὲ τὸν λαόν, μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερέων εὐχὴν, α') εὐχόμενος μὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, οἰονεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ πάντων εὐχὴν ἐξαιτούμενος. διὸ καὶ οὐ τὸ «Κύριε ἐλέησον» φησὶν ὁ λαός, ἀλλ' «Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, δέσποτα», εὐχόμενοί πως β') εὐδωθῆναι τοῦτον ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ, καὶ γ') διαμένειν ἱερατεύειν⁶⁷ ἐπὶ πολὺ.

impious iconoclasts. For, while the divine icons are holy as images of real persons, the gifts are holy as things offered to God and presented to become the body and blood of Christ. If, then, we should attribute honor and reverence to sacred icons, so much more should we <do so> to the offered gifts themselves which are antitypes, as Basil the Great says.¹⁰⁹ 3) It is fitting to prostrate oneself to the gifts being offered even before they become the body and blood of Christ and to the priests because of the divine vessels, even if some of them are empty, for all of them partake of the sanctification of the divine gifts consecrated in them. And it is no cause for wonder that some <of the vessels> are empty. For <the priests> carry these vessels in honor of the divine gifts, and so that those watching and those approaching may all be made holy.

67. When the divine gifts have been set on the sacred altar, they are covered¹¹⁰ 1) because Jesus was not recognized by all from the beginning, and 2) because, though incarnate, He did not thereby give up the hidden quality of His divinity or His foreknowledge, but is always incomprehensible and infinite, and is known only insofar as He reveals Himself.

68. Bowing down, the bishop requests a prayer from all, 1) acknowledging his human weaknesses and in fear and trembling before the task,¹¹¹ and 2) carrying out the apostolic saying that everyone should confess to one another his transgressions, and pray for one another.¹¹² For he does not trust in himself since he too is only a man.

69. After receiving the prayers of the priests, he seals the people <with the sign of the cross> 1) praying for them, as if requesting a prayer from all. Therefore the people do not say, "Lord, have mercy," but, "For many years, Master," praying thereby 2) that he might be successful in the sacred-service and 3) that he might continue his priestly service for a long time.

<79.> Why do the priests carry even empty sacred vessels in the entrance?

<80.> Why are the divine gifts covered on the holy altar?

<81.> Why does the bishop request a prayer from all?

<82.> What does sealing the people <by a sign of the cross> with the trikirion after the entrance represent?

109 In BAS immediately before the epiclesis: "... καὶ προθέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου..." ("... offering the antitypes of the holy body and blood of your Christ..."), Brightman 406; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 89.

110 Covering the gifts: Brightman 379; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 59.

111 Cf. Heb 5:3-4.

112 Cf. Jas 5:16.

f 185

Διὰ τί κλείονται
μετὰ τὸ σφραγίσαι
τὰ ἅγια θύρια;⁶⁸

70. Εἰσελθόντος δὲ κλείονται αἱ θύραι, α') ὅτι οὐ τοῖς
|| πᾶσιν ὁράσθαι ἄξιον τὰ μυστήρια, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς
τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐνεργοῖς. β') ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τάξιν ἐν τοῖς
ἀγγέλοις, καὶ γὰρ ἀμέσως ἐκεῖσε οἱ πρῶτοι μὲν τοῦ
θεοῦ μετέχουσι φωτός, οἱ δευτεροὶ δὲ διὰ τῶν πρῶτων,
καὶ οἱ τελευταῖοι διὰ τῶν μέσων, ὡς ὁ σοφὸς τὰ θεῖα
φησὶ Διονύσιος· οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. ὁ
μὲν γὰρ ἱεράρχης ἀμέσως τῇ ἱερᾷ προσεγγίζει τραπέζῃ,
οἱ δὲ γε ἱερεῖς καὶ λειτουργοὶ δι' αὐτοῦ. διὰ δὲ τῶν
ιερέων καὶ λειτουργῶν τῆς φρικτῆς κοινωνίας καὶ τῶν
ιερῶν ὕμνων οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ μετέχουσι.

Διὰ τί τὸ ἱερὸν
λέγεται σύμβολον,
καὶ ἀσπασμὸς
γίνεται;

71. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρώτην εὐχήν, τοῦ ἱεροῦ λεγομένου
συμβόλου, ὁ ἀσπασμὸς γίνεται, α') ὅτι διὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς
πρὸς τὴν Τριάδα ὁμολογίας καὶ τὸν ἕνα τῆς Τριάδος
σεσαρκωμένον ἡμῖν ἡ ἔνωσις γέγονε. καὶ αὕτη ἡ
ὁμολογία ἡ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἡμᾶς ἐνώσασα, καὶ β') ὅτι
ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους χρή, ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς δι' ἀγάπην
ἱεουργήθη· καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῦ, οὐ
μετὰ μὴνιδος δεῖ παρίστασθαι. καὶ γ') ὅτι πάντες ἐν τῷ
μέλλοντι φίλοι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖσε ἐχθρὸς, οἱ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ
πόρρω βέβληνται.

Διὰ τί μέχρι τοῦ
τελεσθῆναι τὸ
σύμβολον τὰ θεῖα
δῶρα
περικαλύπτεται;

72. Κρατοῦσι δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῶν δώρων,
ἕως ἂν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκπληρωθῇ σύμβολον, ὅτι χρή πάντα
τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καθαρώς ἀνομολογῆσαι, καὶ οὕτως
ἀπερικαλύπτως ἰδεῖν αὐτόν. μετὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ

68 σφραγίσαι τὰ ἅγια θύρια;] illegible in Z.

70. When he has entered, the doors are closed 1) because it is not for all to see the mysteries, but only for those engaged in the priestly action. 2) But just as <it is possible to see> an order in the angels — for the first ones partake of the divine light directly, the second ones through the first ones, and the last ones through the middle ones, as Dionysios wise-in-divine-things says¹¹³ — this can also be seen in the Church. While the hierarch approaches the sacred altar directly, the priests and ministers do so through him. Through the priests and ministers, the people partake of the awe-inspiring communion and the sacred hymns.

<83.> Why are the holy doors closed after the sealing <with the sign of the cross>?

§ L 137

71. After the first prayer,¹¹⁴ while the sacred creed is recited,¹¹⁵ the kiss occurs¹¹⁶ 1) because through the right confession of the Trinity and of the one of the Trinity who was incarnate, the union with us has occurred. It is this confession which has united us to the angels; and 2) because it is necessary to love one another, since Christ was sacrificed through love, and because the one preparing to receive Him in communion must not approach with anger, and 3) because in the future age all will be friends, and none will be enemies then, “for enemies will have been cast out.”¹¹⁷

<84.> Why is the sacred creed recited and does the kiss take place?

§ L 141

72. They hold the sacred veil over the gifts until the sacred creed is completed because it is necessary that everything concerning Jesus be professed in purity,¹¹⁸ and that He then be seen unveiled.¹¹⁹ After this, then, the hier-

<85.> Why do the divine gifts remain covered until the creed is completed?

113 Discussed extensively in the seventh and eighth chapters of Pseudo-Dionysios' *Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας*: e.g., *Corpus* 2:30, 32, 33–34 (PG 3:209A, 212B–C, 240B–D); “The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy,” *Works* 164, 166–168.

114 Symeon here refers to the prayer currently known as the *εὐχή τῆς προσκομιδῆς* (“prayer of the proskomide”). Symeon calls it the *πρώτη εὐχή* (“first prayer”), meaning that he considers it the first element of the eucharistic anaphora. CHR: Brightman 380–381; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 61. BAS: Brightman 401–402; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 85–86.

115 The profession of faith: Brightman 383; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 61.

116 The blessing *Εἰρήνη πᾶσι* (“Peace to all”), the kiss of peace now limited to the clergy, follows the litany with *aiteiseis* after the Great Entrance, Brightman 380–382; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 60–61.

117 Cf. Mt 25:30.

118 Or “clearly,” *καθαρῶς*, Liddell-Scott (*καθαρός*) 850–851; Lampe 686–687.

119 Holding the veil over the gifts: Brightman 383; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 61.

Πῶς ὁ τρισάγιος
ὕμνος ᾄδεται
ἔσωθέν τε καὶ
ἔξωθεν;

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ιεράρχης ἱερουργῶν παρίσταται, καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἀνυμνῶν ἔργα, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων εὐχαριστῶν, μετὰ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων ἐνοῦται.

73. Καὶ τὸν ἐπινίκιον ἀνακράζει σὺν αὐτοῖς ὕμνον, τὸ «Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος». τοῦτο καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐκβοᾷ, δεικνύς τὴν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἰσὴν αἰνεσιν ἡμῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων, καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν ἔνωσιν.

74. Εἶτα τὸ μέγιστον πάντων τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνυμνήσας ὁ ἱεράρχης, τὴν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ἐνανθρώπησιν, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον πάλιν ἔργον τῆς οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θάνατον εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν τῶν μυστηρίων χωρεῖ. καὶ τοὺς ἱερούς ἀνακράζει λόγους, οὓς εἶπεν αὐτὸς ἱερουργῶν ὁ Σωτὴρ, «Λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου.» καὶ «Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου,» καὶ τὰ || ἐφεξῆς.

75. Ἐπειτα ὑπὲρ πάντων εὐχαριστήσας, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάν/των τὰ δῶρα προσαγαγών, τὴν θεῖαν ἐπικαλεῖται εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος· δι' ἧς καὶ ταῦτα τετελεχῶς σφραγίδι σταυροῦ καὶ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ Πνεύματος, τὸν ζῶντα εὐθὺς βλέπει προκείμενον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀληθῶς ὄντα τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον. αὐτοῦ γὰρ αὐτὸ ὁ ἄρτος τὸ σῶμα, καὶ αὐτοῦ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ αἷμα καὶ τὸ παγκόσμιον θῦμα, καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἱλαστήριον, καὶ ἡ ζωσα τρυφή, καὶ ἡ ἀπέραντος εὐφροσύνη, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ τὸ μόνον ὄντως ἀγαθόν, πρόκειται τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν τῇ θεῖᾳ τραπέζῃ. διὸ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὁ ἱεράρχης θαρρύντως εὐχεται. θαρρεῖ γὰρ τὸν φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ἀνεξίκακον καθορῶν προκείμενον τεθυμένον, καὶ ἀνυμνεῖ, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἐξαιτεῖται, καὶ τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἁγίων μέμνηται.

arch doing the sacred-service approaches and, praising in song the divine actions and giving thanks for them all, is united with the archangels.¹²⁰

73. He raises his voice with them in the triumphal hymn, "Holy, holy, holy."¹²¹ And this the people also cry out, showing our praise will be equal to that of the angels in the future age, and our union with them.

<86.> How is the Trisagion hymn sung both within and without?

74. Then the hierarch, having praised in song the greatest of all the actions of God, the becoming human¹²² of the Only-begotten and also the greatest action of His economy <of salvation>, the death for us, comes to the commemoration of the mysteries. He calls out the sacred words which the Savior Himself spoke in the sacred-service, "Take, eat; this is my body"; and "Drink of this, everyone; this is my blood,"¹²³ and the rest.

75. Then, having given thanks for everything and for all those offering gifts, he invokes the divine grace of the Spirit on himself and on the gifts lying before him. When by this grace he has completed this with the seal of the cross and the invocation¹²⁴ of the Spirit,¹²⁵ he immediately sees the living Jesus lying before him, He Himself being truly the bread and the chalice. For the bread is His body and what is in the chalice is His blood. The universal offering, the common propitiation, the living delight, the infinite joy, the kingdom of heaven, and the only true good lies before all on the divine altar. Therefore the hierarch confidently prays for all. He has confidence as he contemplates the lover of mankind and the long-suffering One who was offered and lies before him. He praises in song, prays for all, and commemorates the departed saints.

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120 Symeon makes no reference at all to the introductory dialogue of the anaphora. His remarks here may be a vague reference to the opening section of the anaphora before the "Holy, holy, holy." It is certain that both the dialogue and the first section of the anaphora were part of the liturgy in fifteenth-century Thessalonika.

121 CHR: Brightman 385; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 62-63. BAS: Brightman 403; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 86. Cf. Is 6:3.

122 Cf. E 8 footnote 15.

123 CHR: Brightman 384-385; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 63. BAS: Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 88; cf. Mt 26:26-27, Mk 14:22-24, Lk 22:17-20, 1 Cor 11:24-25.

124 Or "epiclesis" (ἐπίκλησις), Lampe 526. An invocation of the Holy Spirit to descend upon the praying community and on the gifts so as to transform them into the body and blood of the Lord is found in both liturgies.

125 CHR: Brightman 386-387; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 64-65. BAS: Brightman 406; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 89-90.

Διὰ τί καὶ τῶν
ἀγίων καὶ τῆς
παναγίας Θεοτόκου
ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς
μέννῃται;

76. Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῆς τούτου παρθενικῶς τεκούσης
Θεομήτορος κόρης, μαρτυρῶν κὰν τούτῳ, α') ὡς τοῖς
ἀγίοις ἠνώθημεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ θύματος τούτου κοινωνοὶ
ἐκείνων ἐσμέν, καὶ β') ὅτι παρρησίαν οὗτοι πρὸς τὸν
φιλοῦντα καὶ φιλούμενον ἔχοντες, ἰσχύουσι καὶ ἡμᾶς
αὐτῷ καταλλάξαι τε καὶ ἐνώσαι.

Ἀπάντησις κατὰ
τῶν βλασφημῶς
λεγόντων, πῶς τῇ
εὐχῇ πιστεύομεν
τελειοῦσθαι τὰ θεῖα
δῶρα.

77. Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὴ ὀρθῶς φρονούντων τινές, ἐν
τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ Πνεύματος καὶ τῇ τελειώσει τῶν
δώρων οἷον διαποροῦντες, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνθιστάμενοι
τοῖς παραδεδομένοις ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν
ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ, ἔτι τε καὶ τῶν διαδόχων τούτων
θεοφόρων πατέρων, φιλονεικοῦσι, λέγοντες, Πῶς οὐκ
ἀρκοῦμεθα τοῖς κυριακοῖς μόνοις ῥήμασιν ἐπὶ τῇ
τελειώσει τῶν θείων δώρων, ἀλλὰ τῇ εὐχῇ θαρροῦμεν
ἡμῶν; οὗτοι οὖν τὴν τε ἐπὶ κλήσιν ἀθετοῦσι τολμηρῶς
καὶ βλασφημῶς τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ
ἀπαρνοῦνται (φεῦ!) δυνάμιν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν, ἣν τοῖς
ἀποστόλοις αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ καὶ ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι, καὶ
ἐδωρήσατο, δι' ἧς καὶ ἱερουργοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ποιμένες
κεχειροτόνηνται, ἐπελθόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ παναγίου
Πνεύματος, καὶ ταῖς πυρίναις γλώσσαις τὴν αὐτοῦ
ἐνθεμένου ἐν αὐτοῖς δύνανται, δι' ἧς καὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν,
καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν, || καὶ
τὰ ἱάματα καὶ θαυμάσια ἐξετέλουν. καὶ γὰρ οὐ τὸ
ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, «Ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τούτον τίμιον
σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου», καὶ τὰ λοιπά, τὸ δύνασθαι ἔχει
μόνον καθ' αὐτό· ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸν
ιερέα εἰπεῖν, τουτέστι μετὰ τοῦ χαρίσματος, μετὰ τῆς
δυνάμεως δηλαδὴ τῆς ἱερωσύνης.

78. Καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τούτου· εἰ γὰρ μυριάκις εἶποιεν τὰς
δεσποτικὰς φωνὰς καὶ πᾶσαν θεῖαν ἐπὶ κλήσιν, εἴτε

76. Above all, <he commemorates> the maiden Mother of God who bore Him virginally,¹²⁶ witnessing even in this, 1) that we have been united to the saints and through this sacrifice we are their companions,¹²⁷ and 2) that they, having the freedom to speak in the presence of Him who loves and is loved, might also be able to reconcile us with Him and unite us to Him.

<87.> Why does the bishop recall the saints and the all-holy Theotokos in the sacred-service?

§ L 143

<Excursus: Consecration by Priestly Invocations>

77. However, there are some who do not hold the correct opinion about the invocation¹²⁸ of the Spirit and the consecration of the gifts, and go far astray, even taking a stand against what is handed down by the Savior, His apostles, and their successors the God-bearing fathers. They argue, asking, How are we not satisfied with the Lord's words alone for the consecration of the divine gifts, but trust in our own prayer? These people, then, arrogantly and blasphemously reject the invocation¹²⁹ of the divine Spirit, and (woe to them!) utterly deny the Spirit's power and energy which the Savior Himself promised to give the apostles and did give them. Through this power, the ministers of the sacred-service and shepherds were ordained, when the all-holy Spirit came down upon them, infusing its power into them by fiery tongues. Through this power they completed the sacred-service, ordinations by the imposition of hands, and the healings and miracles. For it is not merely saying, "Make this bread the venerable body of Your Christ,"¹³⁰ and the rest, which has the power through itself; rather it has power when the priest says it with the Spirit, that is, with the gift of God's grace, quite clearly with the power of the priesthood.

<88.> Response to those who blasphemously ask how we can believe that the divine gifts are consecrated by prayer?

78. And this follows clearly: if all kings or ascetics, or all devout women and men not having the priesthood, or all the faithful at one time in the whole world were to say the

126 CHR: Brightman 388; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 65–66. BAS: Brightman 406; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 90.

127 Or "...we are in communion with them," *κοινωνοί/κοινωνός*, Liddell-Scott (*κοινωνέω/κοινωνός*) 970; Lampe 764.

128 Cf. E 75 footnote 124.

129 Cf. E 75 footnote 124.

130 From the epiclesis of CHR: Brightman 386; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 65.

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βασιλεῖς πάντες ἢ ἀσκηταί, εἴτε πάντες εὐλαβεῖς, μὴ ἱερωσύνην ἔχοντες, εἴτε ἅπαντες ὁμοῦ οἱ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ γῇ πιστοί, οὐδὲν πλέον ἔσται, μὴ ἱερέως παρόντος, /καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἱερουργημένα ἔσται τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων προτεθέντα, οὐδὲ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ· ὥστε οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ Θεός ἐστιν ὁ διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐνεργῶν, ἐπικαλουμένου τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ ὅπερ ἂν εἴπῃ ὁ ἱερεὺς, ἐνεργόν ἐστι τῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης δυνάμει· αὕτη δὲ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ δύναμις, ἣν οὐ πᾶς κέκτηται πιστός, ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν χειροτονίαν τοῦ ἱερέως μόνος δεξάμενος, καὶ πᾶσα εὐχὴ αὐτοῦ τελειοποιῶς θεία χάριτι· καὶ ὁ μὴ τοῦτο πιστεύων οὐδὲ δεχόμενος οὔτε βάπτισμα ἄρα, οὔτε μύρου⁶⁹ τελετὴν, οὔτε χειροτονίαν ἱερατικῶν τάξεων, οὔτε λύσιν ἐγκλημάτων, οὔτε μὴν σχήματος μοναχοῦ ἱεράν εὐχὴν παραδέχεται, καὶ ἀπίστου οὗτος ἐγγύς, καὶ ἑαυτὸν τῆς μοίρας ἐξάγει τῶν χριστιανῶν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα δι' εὐχῶν τελεῖται τῶν ἱερατικῶν.

79. Ὡς περ οὖν βαπτίζοντες καθὰ παρελάβομεν, εἰς ὄνομα βαπτίζομεν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τῇ ἐπικλήσει τῆς Τριάδος τὸν βαπτιζόμενον τελειοῦντες, καίτοι γε οὐδὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπικλήσει μόνῃ ἀρκοῦμεθα, ἣν παρέδωκεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν καὶ σφραγίδι, καὶ ἐμφυσήματι, καὶ ἀποταγαῖς, καὶ συνταγαῖς καὶ εὐχαῖς, καὶ χρίσει ἐλαίου ἁγιαζομένου σφραγίδι, καὶ ἐμφυσήματι, καὶ ἐπικλήσει τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, τὸν βαπτιζόμενον προκαθαίρομεν, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος σφραγίδι καὶ ἐπικλήσει Πνεύματος ἁγίου καθαγιαζόμεν, καὶ τὸ μύρον δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ὁμοίως εὐχαῖς τελειοποιούμεν ἀρχιερατικαῖς, καὶ σφραγίδι τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα τὸν βαπτισθέντα καὶ χρισθέντα τῷ μύρῳ εὐχαῖς τελειοῦμεν ἱεραῖς.

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80. Καὶ τοῖς θεοφανίοις τὰ ἁγιαζόμενα ὕδατα || εὐχαῖς ἁγιαζόμεν, καὶ ἔτι τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἁγιαζόμενα, τῶν ἱερέων τὴν ἰσχὺν κεκτημένων ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτισθέντος ἐν ὕδατι, ὅτε τὸ Πνεῦμα κατῆλθε, καὶ τὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἀρχιερέα ἢ ἱερέα⁷⁰ δεχόμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερατικῶν εὐχῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπικλήσεως, ἅπερ πλουτοῦσι τὴν δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν εἰδει πυρίνων γλωσσῶν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐλθούσης τοῦ Παρακλήτου δωρεᾶς τε καὶ χάριτος.

Lord's words and every divine invocation¹³¹ ten thousand times with no priest present, it would have no effect, and the offerings made by them would in no way be consecrated, nor <would they become> the body and blood of Christ. For it is not man but God who works through the priest invoking the grace of the Spirit. Whatever the priest says is activated by the power of the priesthood. This is the power of God, which not every member of the faithful possesses, but only the one who has received the priest's ordination, and by divine grace his every prayer is sanctifying. The one who neither believes this nor accepts baptism, consecration of chrism, the ordination of priestly orders, release from sins, or the sacred prayer of the monastic habit, this person is nearly an unbeliever and he separates himself from the lot of Christians. For all these things are brought about by priestly prayers.

79. So, baptizing as we have received from tradition, we baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, consecrating the one baptized by the invocation of the Trinity. Yet we are not at all satisfied with the invocation alone, which the Savior handed down. But first, by sealing <him with the sign of the cross>, by breathing upon <him>, by renunciations, by promises, by prayers, by a seal of anointing with blessed oil, by infusion and by the invocation of the holy Trinity, we purify beforehand the one being baptized. We also sanctify the water of baptism by sealing <it> <with the sign of the cross>, and by the invocation of the Holy Spirit; we consecrate the sacred chrism in a similar way by episcopal prayers and by the seal of the cross. After baptism, we bring the one baptized and anointed with chrism to completion by sacred prayers.

80. For the feast of Theophany also we sanctify by prayers the sanctified waters and also the things sanctified according to each <prayer>, since the priests possess the power from Him who was baptized in water when the Spirit descended. We acknowledge that the bishop or priest is ordained by the priestly prayers and by the invocation of the Spirit, inasmuch as they abound in the power from the gift and grace of the Paraclete that came upon the apostles in the form of tongues of fire, as we said.

131 In this and the following sections, cf. E 75 footnote 124.

81. Οὕτω καὶ τὸ γενέσθαι τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερατικῶν πιστεύομεν σαφῶς ἐνεργεῖσθαι εὐχῶν, καὶ τελειοῦσθαι τῇ τοῦ σταυροῦ σφραγίδι, καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· τῶν κυριακῶν φωνῶν τὸ «Λάβετε, φάγετε», καὶ «Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ,»⁷¹ καὶ «Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν» τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς τῆς χάριτος αὐτῶν διαδόχοις ἅπαξ τοῦτο παρασχουσὼν, δύνασθαι διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν ἐνεργεῖν.

82. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἐκδιηγούμενος, καὶ ἀνυμνῶν τὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας ὁ ἱερεὺς, πρῶτον μὲν τὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θείας ἀνακράζει φωνάς, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο αὐτὸς παρέδωκε, καὶ ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο προσφερόμεν σοι ταῦτα ὑπὲρ πάντων, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐντολὴν, λοιπὸν δεόμεθά σου, σὺ τὸ Πνεῦμα σου ἐξαπόστειλον εἰς ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα καὶ ποιήσον ταῦτα σῶμα καὶ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἔφη «μεταβαλὼν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου Πνεύματι». καὶ ἐν τῷ λέγειν, σφραγίζει. καὶ τρεῖς σφραγίσας, αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα πιστεύει εἶναι⁷² ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστι Χριστὸς ὁ διὰ / τοῦ ἱερέως ἐνεργῶν ἅμα τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστίν⁷³ «Ὁ προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος», καὶ ἱερουργῶν καὶ ἱερουργούμενος, «καὶ προσδεχόμενος, καὶ διαδιδόμενος,» ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς μεγάλης εἰσόδου τοῦτο λέγομεν ἱερωτάτῃ εὐχῇ.

83. Καὶ ἵνα σαφέστερον τοῦτο παραδηλώσωμεν, οὐδὲ σφραγίζει τὰ δῶρα ὁ ἱερεὺς, ἐν τῷ λέγειν «Λάβετε, φάγετε», καὶ «Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες», διηγούμενος γὰρ ὡς ἔφημεν· ταύτας λέγει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα τὰς

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71 After αὐτοῦ add πάντες PG. 72 εἶναι om Z. 73 ἐστι PG.

81. In this way we believe that the bread and the chalice becoming the body and the blood of Christ is clearly activated by the energy of the priestly prayers, and brought to completion by the seal of the cross and the invocation of the Holy Spirit. The words of the Lord, "Take, eat"; "Drink from it, everyone";¹³² and "Do this in my remembrance,"¹³³ provided once and for all to the apostles and to the successors of their grace that they are able to do so through the prayers.

82. Therefore, when the priest narrates to the Father in detail and praises in song the events of the economy <of salvation>, he first cries out Christ's divine words since He handed this down, and since for this reason 'we offer to You these things on behalf of all,'¹³⁴ according to His command. Further, 'we beg You, send Your Spirit upon me and upon the gifts offered, and make them His body and blood,'¹³⁵ as he said, "changing <them> by Your Holy Spirit."¹³⁶ As he says this, he seals <with the sign of the cross>. Having sealed three times, the priest believes the bread and the chalice to be the body and blood, since it is Christ Himself who acts through the priest together with the Father and the Spirit. He is "the one who offers and is offered,"¹³⁷ the one who performs the sacred-service, and is sacrificed in it, "the one who receives and is distributed,"¹³⁸ as we say at the Great Entrance in the most sacred prayer.

83. So that we might make this absolutely clear, the priest does not seal the gifts <with the sign of the cross> while saying, "Take, eat," and "Drink from it, everyone," for, as we said, he says these words as a narration to the

132 CHR: Brightman 385-386; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 63. BAS: Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 88; cf. Mt 26:26-27, Mk 14:22-24, Lk 22:17-20, 1 Cor 11:24-25.

133 BAS, but not CHR: Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 88; cf. Lk 22:19, 1 Cor 11:24.

134 A paraphrase of the exclamation of elevation, CHR: Brightman 386; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 64. BAS: Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 89.

135 A paraphrase of the epiclesis in CHR: Brightman 386; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 64-65.

136 Ibid.

137 Prayer of the Cherubikon in CHR and BAS: Brightman 377-378; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 57 and 78.

138 Ibid.

φωνάς, ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ ταύτας ἀντίτυπα τὰ δῶρα φησὶν ὁ μέγας Βασιλεῖος.

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84. Ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ προσαγαγεῖν τὰ δῶρα, καὶ εἰπεῖν «Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν», καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν χάριν τοῦ || Πνεύματος, τότε γὰρ πιστεύει παρεῖναι ταύτην διὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς εὐχῆς, ἀναστὰς σφραγίζει τὰ θεῖα δῶρα, καὶ εἰρηκῶς «Καὶ ποιήσον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου»· καὶ σφραγίσας τὸν ἄρτον, «Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου», καὶ τὸ ποτήριον σφραγίσας, τρίτον δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω σφραγίσας, καὶ ἀνειπὼν «Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ», τὸ «Ἀμήν» ἐπιλέγει, βεβαιῶν τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ θαρρύντως ὁμολογῶν ὡς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τὰ προκείμενά εἰσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπινον ἐκείσε, ἀλλὰ πάντα θεῖα γίνεται χάριτι.

85. Διὸ καὶ ὁ προσάγων κεχειροτονημένος, καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ δῶρα ἡγιασμένον, καὶ χωρὶς τούτων, τελεῖται οὐδέν. θεμέλιος μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τῆς ἱερουργίας τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὡς ἔφημεν, ῥήματα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἐνεργεῖ δὲ διὰ τῶν τοῦ ἱερέως εὐχῶν. ὥστε οὐκ ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν, καθὼ ἀνθρωπὸς ὁ ἱερεὺς, ἀλλ' ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, διὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης τῶν ἱερέων. καὶ ὥσπερ ἅπαξ ἔφη Θεός· «Βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ», καὶ ἐνεργόν ἐστὶ τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ αἰεὶ βλαστάνει ἡ γῆ, καὶ «Γενηθήτω φῶς», καὶ αἰεὶ φαίνει τὸ φῶς, οὕτω, «Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε», εἰπὼν, «εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν», αἰεὶ ἐνεργεῖ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ τὸ ῥῆμα. διὸ καὶ τὸ

Father, since even after these words the great Basil says that the gifts are antitypes.¹³⁹

84. But after offering the gifts and saying, "Your things from Your own,"¹⁴⁰ and invoking the grace of the Spirit, for he believes the grace arrives then through the priestly prayers, rising, he seals the divine gifts <with the sign of the cross>, saying also, "And make this bread the venerable body of Your Christ,"¹⁴¹ having sealed the bread <with the sign of the cross>; "And what is in the chalice, the venerable blood of Your Christ,"¹⁴² having sealed the chalice <with the sign of the cross>; and a third time having sealed both adding, "Changing <them> by Your Holy Spirit,"¹⁴³ he concludes with "Amen," confirming the mystery, and boldly confessing that what lies before him are the body and blood of Christ, by His power and the Father's and the Spirit's. This in no way is a human thing. Rather, everything comes to pass by divine grace.

85. Therefore the one who offers is ordained, and the altar on which the gifts lie is sanctified, and without these nothing is consecrated. From the beginning, then, the foundation of the sacred-service are the words of the Lord, as we said, and these acts through the prayers of the priest. For the one who acts is not a man, although the priest is a man, but Christ in the Holy Spirit through the priesthood of the priests. And just as God once said, "Let the earth bring forth,"¹⁴⁴ and the word is active and the earth continues to bring forth plants, and, "Let there be light,"¹⁴⁵ and the light continues to shine, so, in the same way, when He said, "Do this in my remembrance,"¹⁴⁶ the word continues to act

139 In BAS immediately before the epiclesis: ...καὶ προθέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, σοῦ δεόμεθα... ("...while offering you the antitypes of the body and blood of your Christ, we call upon you..."): Brightman 406; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 89.

140 Opening words of the acclamation at the anaphoral elevation shortly before the epiclesis, CHR: Brightman 386; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 64. BAS: Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 89.

141 The epiclesis in CHR: Brightman 387; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 65.

142 Ibid.

143 Ibid.

144 Gen 1:11.

145 Gen 1:3.

146 In BAS, but not in CHR: Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 88; Lk 22:19 and 1 Cor 11:24.

«Ποίησον τὸν ἄρτον τούτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ» ἐνεργὸν διὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐστί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἀλήθεια καὶ οὐ τύπος, σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ τὰ ἱερουργούμενά εἰσιν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν, ὡς προεῖρηται, ὁ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐνεργῶν. καὶ τοῦτο οὕτως αὐτὸς παρέδωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν ἱερουργεῖν.

86. Ἐλαβε γὰρ τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέβλεψε, καθὰ γέγραπται, καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ εὐχαριστήσας, ἔκλασε καὶ ἔδωκε τοῖς μαθηταῖς, λέγων «Λάβετε, φάγετε», καὶ «Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ» καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁμοίως, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν ἱερουργήσεν οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχων εὐχῶν, Θεὸς ὢν παντοδύναμος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτου δεικνύς, ὅτι μία δύναμις τῆς Τριάδος, καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν αὐτουργεῖν, καὶ τὸν Πατέρα συνευδοκοῦντα ἔχει, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον συνεργόν, καθὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ θεῖα σαρκώσει γέγονεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ μόνος ὁ Μονογενὴς σαρκωθείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ εὐδόκησε, καὶ || τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τῇ σαρκώσει συνήργησεν, ὡς καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν παρθένον διδάσκει τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου φωνή, ἐπεὶ καὶ μία ἡ τῆς Τριάδος δύναμις καὶ ἐνέργεια, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅπερ ὁ Υἱὸς σαρκωθείς ἐκτετέλεκεν, εἰς ὃ μὴ /καὶ εὐδόκησεν ὁ Πατὴρ, ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον μὴ συνήργησεν.

87. Οὐκοῦν ὁ τὰς ἱερατικὰς εὐχὰς ἀθετῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τελειώσει τῶν μυστηρίων οὐδ' ἄλλην ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀपाσῶν τελετῶν τελεστικὴν εὐχὴν δέχεται, καὶ οὐ χριστιανὸς οὗτος, ἐπεὶ οὔτε βάπτισμα, ὡς προεῖρηκαμεν, οὔτε χρίσμα, οὔτε μετάνοιαν, οὔτ' ἔλαιον ἅγιον, οὔθ' ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν, ἢ θεῖαν ἱερωσύνην, ἢ μοναδικὸν σχῆμα, ἢ ναὸν ἅγιον, ἢ τίμιον γάμον, ἢ τινὰ ὅλως ἁγιασμόν παραδέχεται. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα διὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν εὐχῶν ἐνεργεῖται.

88. Ἡ τοίνυν μηδόλως εὐχὴν ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ ἢ προλεγέτω ἢ ἐπιλεγέτω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲ τὴν χάριν ἐπικαλείσθω τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὡς ἂν μηδὲ κοινωνίαν ἔχη Χριστοῦ, ὁμοίως τε μήτ' ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις τελεταῖς ἐπικαλείσθω τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἵνα μηδαμῶς ἔχη τῆς ἐκκλησίας μυστήριον, μηδ' ὅλως εἶη χριστιανός.

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through His priests. Therefore the words "Make this bread the body of Christ"¹⁴⁷ are effective through the priests, and thus what is blessed in the sacred-service are the body and blood of Christ: it is a reality, rather, and not a symbol, because, as we said above, He is the one working through the priests. And He handed this down to be done in this way: the sacred-service by means of the prayers.

86. For He took the bread and looked up to heaven, as it is written, and having given thanks to the Father, He broke and gave it to the disciples, saying, "Take, eat," and "Drink from it," and likewise the rest, so that He too did the sacred-service by means of prayers, although being almighty God He had no need of prayers. But by doing so He showed that the power of the Trinity is one, and that in carrying out His own actions He has the Father consenting and the Holy Spirit collaborating, just as occurred in His divine incarnation.¹⁴⁸ For He alone was the only-begotten incarnate one, but the Father consented and the Spirit collaborated in the incarnation,¹⁴⁹ as the archangel's speech to the Virgin also teaches, since the power and energy of the Trinity is one. And there is nothing that the incarnate Son would have brought to completion if the Father had not consented or the Holy Spirit had not collaborated.

87. Therefore he who rejects the priestly prayers in the accomplishment of the mysteries and does not accept any other consecratory prayer in all the sacred rites is no Christian, since, as we said above, such a person accepts neither baptism, chrism, penance, holy oil, the forgiveness of sins, the divine priesthood, the monastic habit, <the consecration> of the holy sanctuary, honorable marriage, nor any other blessing. For all these things are made active by means of the priestly prayers.

88. So, either let him say no prayer at all, either before or after, in the sacred-service, and therefore not invoke the grace of the Spirit, like one having no communion with Christ; similarly let him not invoke the grace of the Spirit in baptism or the other rites, so that he would in no way have a rite of the Church, or be a Christian at all.

147 The epiclesis in CHR: Brightman 387; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 65.

148 Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

149 Ibid.

89. Ἡ χριστιανὸς λέγων εἶναι, καὶ δεχόμενος τὰς τῶν ἱερέων εὐχάς, καὶ τὰς τελεστικὰς ταύτας φωνὰς δεχέσθω, πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα τε οὐσας, καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσει γινομένης τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος, ὡς παραδέδωκεν ὁ Σωτὴρ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα εὐχαριστήσας, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐν τῷ τὰ μυστήρια ἐνεργεῖν, ὃ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ποιοῦντες ἐδείκνυντο, εὐχαριστοῦντες ἅμα καὶ κλῶντες τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ οἱ πατέρες παραδεδώκασι Βασίλειος καὶ Χρυσόστομος.

90. Οἱ ἀνθιστάμενοι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφῶν λειτουργίας ἐξελεγχέσθωσαν. εὐχονται γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί, τὰ προκείμενα σῶμα γενέσθαι καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ εὐλογοῦσι τὰ δῶρα, καὶ ἐμφυσῶσι παρὰ τὴν θείαν παράδοσιν, οὐκ ἀρκοῦμενοι ταῖς τοῦ Κυρίου μόνον φωναῖς. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν πάντα καινοτομεῖτωσαν. ἡμεῖς δὲ τηροῦντες τὰς παραδόσεις ἃς παρελάβομεν, ὡς ὁ Σωτὴρ δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρέδωκε καὶ πατέρων, τὰ τε μυστήρια τῆς φρικτῆς ἐκτελῶμεν κοινωνίας, τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος, διὰ τε τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ῥημάτων, καὶ τῶν ἱερατικῶν εὐχῶν, καὶ πάσας τὰς θείας τελετὰς τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ ἱερέως⁷⁴ ἐν θείᾳ ἐπικλήσει, καὶ τῇ τοῦ σταυροῦ σφραγίδι, τὴν τελείωσιν πιστεύωμεν δέχεσθαι κατὰ τὴν θείαν παράδοσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ περὶ τούτου μὲν ἀρκεῖτω.

Τί ἡ προσευχή τὸ
«Πάτερ ἡμῶν»
διδάσκει τε καὶ
δηλοῖ;

91. Τέλος δὲ ὁ ἱεράρχης «στόματι ἐνὶ καὶ μιᾷ καρδίᾳ» προσευξάμενος αἰνεῖν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμᾶς, καὶ «τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ» ἐπικαλεσάμενος, πρὸς τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἡμᾶς τοῦ ὑπερουρανίου Πατρὸς ἀνάγει, εὐχόμενος διὰ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν Υἱοῦ

89. Or else, if he says he is a Christian and accepts the prayers of the priests, let him also accept these consecratory words, which are directed to the Father and occur by the invocation¹⁵⁰ of the divine Spirit, as the Savior has handed on when He gave thanks to the Father, as was said, in the carrying out of the mysteries; which the apostles also showed by doing so, giving thanks and at the same time breaking the bread, and the fathers Basil and Chrysostom have handed down.

90. Those who reject the liturgy of both <Saint Basil and John Chrysostom> are condemned. For they pray that the offerings become the body and blood of Christ, and they bless the gifts and they blow on them contrary to the divine tradition,¹⁵¹ not being satisfied by the words of the Lord alone. They have corrupted everything into novelties. We, on the other hand, preserve the traditions we have received as the Savior has handed down through Himself, the apostles and the fathers, so let us also perform both the mysteries of the awe-inspiring communion by the invocation¹⁵² of the divine Spirit, through the Lord's words and the priestly prayers, and all the divine rites by the prayer of the priest at the divine invocation,¹⁵³ and by the seal of the cross, and let us believe that we receive the consecration according to the divine tradition. But let that suffice on this point.

<...Back to the Liturgy of the Eucharist>

91. Finally, the hierarch having prayed that we praise God "with one mouth and one heart,"¹⁵⁴ and having invoked¹⁵⁵ "the mercies of our great God Jesus Christ,"¹⁵⁶ leads us up to adoption as sons of the supercelestial Father, praying through the Son by nature that we might

<89.> What does the "Our Father" teach, and what does it represent?

¹⁵⁰ Cf. E 75 footnote 125.

¹⁵¹ Cf. discussion of blowing on the gifts in "Symeon's Theology of the Eucharist," above p. 47.

¹⁵² Cf. E 75 footnote 125.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Final doxology of the anaphora. CHR: Brightman 309; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 67. BAS: Brightman 409-410; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 93.

¹⁵⁵ *Ἐπικαλησάμενος* (lit., "having prayed an epiclesis").

¹⁵⁶ Opening greeting of the pre-communion rites. CHR: Brightman 309; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 67. BAS: Brightman 409-410; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 93.

κεκαθαρμένους κατὰ χάριν υἱοὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐπαξίως καλέσαι ἡμῶν Πατέρα τὸν ἐπουράνιον. τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῖ τὴν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ὁμοφροσύνην, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι ἔνωσιν. ὅθεν καὶ εἰρήνην ὁ ἱεράρχης ἐπευξάμενος, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπικαλεσάμενος, ὥστε μεταδοῦναι αὐτὸν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγίων, καὶ καταξιώθῃναι δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς μετασχεῖν, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν τετέλεκε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔρχεται.

Διὰ τί πάλιν τὸ
ὁμοφόριον ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς
ἐνδιδύσκεται;

92. Λαμβάνει πάλιν τὸ ὁμοφόριον, δεικνύς, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐξυπηρετῶν ἦν, καὶ εὐλαβούμενος ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο ἔνδυμα ἐνδεδύσθαι, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτελέσθη τὸ ἔργον, καὶ ἀνυψῶσαι τὸν ἄρτον καὶ μελίσαι εἰς μέρος, καὶ μεταλαβεῖν καὶ μεταδοῦναι ἔρχεται, χρεῖα τὰ τῆς ἀξίας πάντα ἱερὰ σύμβολα ἐνδεδύσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ ἱεράρχου ἐξαίρετον τὸ ὁμοφόριον ἔνδυμα, καὶ τοῦτο χρεῖα λαβεῖν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν θειοτάτων μεταλαβεῖν. ἐνδυσάμενος τοίνυν καὶ ἀνυψώσας τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ «Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις» ἀνειπὼν, ἐκεῖνος μὲν πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἐκείνην τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης ζῶσαν τροφήν ἀγίους ἅπαντας καλεῖ «Τὰ ἅγια» λέγων «τοῖς ἀγίοις».

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Τί δηλοῖ τὸ «Εἰς
ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος,»
καὶ τί διδάσκει
τοῦτο;

93. Ὁ δὲ λαὸς ὁμοφώνως κράζει «Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρός». τοῦτο δὲ Παῦλος φησὶ κηρυχθήσεσθαι ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, ὅτε «Κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ» τῷ Ἰησοῦ, «πᾶσα δὲ γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται», ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρός. ἐκ τούτου τοίνυν κοινὴ πάντων ἔνωσις τῶν πιστῶν ἀνομολογεῖται, καὶ ἡ συμφωνία παρὰ πάντων τῆς ἀνακηρύξεως σαρκωθέντος Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃς ἐπὶ πάντας βασιλεύσει, καὶ «Τῆς βασιλείας» αὐτοῦ «οὐκ ἔσται τέλος», ὡς γέγραπται. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν

become purified sons by grace, and that we might call upon our heavenly Father worthily. This represents the oneness of mind in the age to come, and the unity with God through the Only-begotten in the Holy Spirit. Therefore, having prayed for peace, given thanks, and asked Jesus that He transmit to him a share of the holy things, and that he be counted worthy through Him of distributing them to the rest,¹⁵⁷ since the sacred-service has been completed¹⁵⁸ and the hierarch comes to communion.

92. He takes again the omophorion, showing that first he was a wholly submissive minister and was unwilling to wear that sacred vestment, but since the action is completed, the bread elevated and divided into pieces, and a share is going to be given and received, it is necessary to put on all the sacred emblems of <his> rank. Since the omophorion is the special vestment of the hierarch, he must take it and with it partake of the most holy things. Therefore, having put it on and elevated the bread, intoning, "The holy things for the holy,"¹⁵⁹ he calls all holy ones to that divine living food of the sacred altar, saying, "The holy things for the holy."

93. The people cry out in unison, "One is holy,¹⁶⁰ one is Lord,¹⁶¹ Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father."¹⁶² Paul says this will be proclaimed on the last day, when "every knee will bend" to Jesus, and "every tongue will confess"¹⁶³ that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father. Therefore, from this, a common unity of all the faithful is confessed: the agreement by all of the proclamation of the incarnate Son of God, who will reign over all, and "of His kingdom there will be no end,"¹⁶⁴ as it is

<90.> Why does the bishop once again put on the omophorion?
§ L 145-146

<91.> What does "One is holy, one is Lord" represent, and what does it teach?
§ L 145-146

157 A paraphrase of themes in the prayer of the pre-communion elevation. CHR Brightman 392-393; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 69. BAS: *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 95.

158 Symeon considers that, although communion has not been distributed and the Divine Liturgy is not completed, the central sacred-service (ιερουργία) has ended.

159 Acclamation at the pre-communion elevation. CHR: Brightman 393; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 69. BAS: *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 96.

160 Cf. Rev 15:4.

161 Eph 4:5; cf. Mk 12:32, Dt 6:4.

162 Phil 2:11. This is the ordinary, non-festive koinonikon (originally the communion verse) of both CHR and BAS: Brightman 393.

163 Rom 14:11.

164 Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed.

φωνήν «Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις» τὸ «Εἰς ἅγιος» ἐν ἀποκρίσει λεγόμενον, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν αὐτοαγιασύνην καταγγέλλει τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγιαζομένοις ἐστὶν ὁ ἁγιασμός. καὶ ταπεινώσεως δὲ ἐπέχει λόγον· τίς γὰρ ἔσται, φησί, καθαρὸς ἡμῶν, ἢ τίς ἅγιος; εἰς μόνος ἅγιος, εἰς Χριστός, ὃς φιλανθρώπως ἡμᾶς ἁγιάσει.

Τί τὸ ἀνυψῶσαι τὸν
θεῖον ἄρτον δηλοῖ;

94. Τὸ δὲ ἀνυψῶσαι τὸν ἄρτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ δηλοῖ ὑψωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. διὸ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον πρόκειται αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ ρεῦσαν πλευρᾶς φέρον αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ.

Διὰ τί εἰς τέσσαρα
μελίζει τὸν θεῖον
ἄρτον, καὶ
σταυροειδῶς αὐτὸν
τίθῃσι;

95. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄρτον εἰς τέσσαρα διαιρεῖ, καὶ σταυροειδῶς ταῦτα τίθῃσι, κἀν τούτῳ ἐσταυρωμένον βλέπει τὸν Ἰησοῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλη τις οὕτω θαυμαστὴ θεωρία, ὡς τὸ τὸν ὑψηλὸν Θεὸν οὕτω θεωρεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ταπεινόν. τὴν ἄνω δὲ μερίδα λαβὼν, σταυροειδῆ τύπον δείξας τῷ ἄρτι ἐμβάλλει τοῦτον τῷ ποτηρίῳ, καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ποιεῖται τὴν ἑνωσιν.

Διὰ τί καὶ ζέον τοῖς
μυστηρίοις εἰσάγει
ὕδωρ;

96. Εἶτα καὶ ζέον ὕδωρ ἐγχέει τῷ ποτηρίῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖ, μαρτυρῶν ὅτι καὶ νεκρὸν γεγονὸς τὸ κυριακὸν σῶμα, τῆς θείας ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ χωρισθείσης, ζωοποιὸν αὐθις ἔμενε, τῆς θεότητος μὲν οὐ διαιεθείσης αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀπασῶν μὴ χωρισθεισῶν. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ τὸ ζέον ὕδωρ ζωτικὴν τῷ θερμῷ παρέχεται ἔμφασιν, εἰσάγεται τότε ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μεταλήψεως, ὡς ἂν τὰ χεῖλη τῷ ποτηρίῳ προσψαύοντες καὶ κοινωνοῦντες τοῦ αἵματος, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ζωοποιῶν πλευρᾶς ἐκείνης πίνοντες διατιθώμεθα, τῆς θεότητος μὴ διαιεθείσης, ἐκτυπούσης τοῦτο τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ προσψάψεως τοῦ θερμοῦ. πῦρ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν γέγραπται. /εἰσὶ δὲ λόγοι πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ ὑψηλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἄλλοι καὶ οὗτοι θαυμαστοί. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν ἀρκεῖτω οὗτος ὁ λογισμός. ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπαδομένου ἔστι νοεῖν, ἐν τῷ τὸ ζέον εἰσάγεσθαι, τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὃ εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας. «Ζέσις», γάρ, «Πνεύματος ἁγίου», φησὶν.

written. But the "One is holy" said in response to the "The holy things for the holy" declares first the absolute holiness of God and that from Him is the sanctification of all those being sanctified. On the other hand, it stands for humility: for who of us is pure, or who is holy? Only one is holy, the one Christ, who will sanctify us in <His> love for humanity.¹⁶⁵

94. Elevating the bread represents the elevation of Christ on the cross. Therefore the chalice is also set forth, bearing the blood and water which flowed from His holy breast.

95. <The bishop> divides the bread in four and places them in the form of a cross. In this, he sees the crucified Christ. For there is indeed no contemplation so marvelous as to contemplate in this way the lofty God humble for our sake. Taking the upper particle, having made the sign of the cross with the bread, he places it in the chalice, and he accomplishes the union of the mysteries.

96. Then he also pours hot water into the chalice. He does this to witness that even when the Lord's body was dead and separated from His divine soul, it remained vivifying, since the divinity had not been taken from Him nor all the energies of the Spirit separated from Him. Since, then, the warm water represents the image of life on account of the heat, it is added at the moment of communion, so that, touching the lips to the chalice and receiving the blood in communion, we are confident that we are drinking from that vivifying breast, with the introduction and the feel of the heat typifying that the divinity has not been taken away, for it is written that our God is fire.¹⁶⁶ There are other reasons <expressed> on this subject by lofty men and they are marvelous, but let this reasoning suffice for us, since, as it is possible to perceive from what is said as the hot water is added, this, as we said, is the goal of the Church: for <the bishop> says, "The fervor of the Holy Spirit."¹⁶⁷

<92.> What does elevating the divine bread represent?

§ L 145-146

<93.> Why is the divine bread divided into four and placed in the shape of a cross?

§ L 149-150

<94.> Why does he add hot water to the mysteries?

165 Cf. Heb 10:10.

166 Cf. Dt 4:24.

167 This is the older, simpler infusion formula for adding the zeon to the chalice. Cf. Robert F. Taft, *The Precommunion Rites* (History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, vol. V) OCA 261 (2000) 477-479 for its origin and evolution. The modern formula is Ζέσις πίστεως πλήρης Πνεύματος αγίου ("The fervor of faith full of the Holy Spirit"): Brightman 394; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 70.

Διὰ τί καὶ ζέον
ὕδωρ ἐν τοῖς
προηγιασμένοις
εἰσάγεται;

Ὅτι τὴν τοῦ
Σωτῆρος ἱερουργίαν
μιμῆται τὸ μερίζειν
τὸν ἄρτον.
Πῶς κοινωνοῦσιν
ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ
ιερεῖς;
Τι δηλοῖ τὸ
ἀσπάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ
κοινωνεῖν τοὺς
ἱερωμένους τὴν τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως δεξιὰν
χείρα καὶ παρεϊάν;

Διὰ τί οἱ μὲν
ἱερωμένοι ἐν τῷ
βήματι χερσὶ καὶ
χείλεσι λαμβάνουσι
τὰ μυστήρια,
ἔξωθεν δὲ καὶ διὰ
τῆς λαβίδος οἱ
λαϊκοί;

97. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἰσάγεσθαι ζέον ἐν τοῖς
προηγιασμένοις, τοῦτο καθαρώτερον δείκνυσιν. οὐ γὰρ
χρεία ἦν, εἰ ἄλλος ὢν ἐτύγχανεν ὁ σκοπός, τὸ ζέον
εἰσάγεσθαι ἐν τοῖς δώροις, τῇ τελείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ
εἰσαχθέντος τῷ ποτηρίῳ.

98. Εἰς πολλὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας μερίδας διελὼν ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς, κὰν τούτῳ μιμούμενος τὴν ἱερουργίαν τοῦ
Ἰησοῦ· ἔκλασε γὰρ τὸν ἄρτον, ὡς γέγραπται, καὶ
ἔδωκεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μαθηταῖς. μεταλαμβάνει πρῶτον
αὐτὸς τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ μετέχει τοῦ φρικτοῦ ποτηρίου· οὐ
γὰρ ἄλλος αὐτῷ μεταδίδωσιν, εἰ μὴ πού τις τῶν
ὁμοταγῶν, ἀρχιερεὺς δηλονότι.

99. Εἴτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι μεταδοὺς
ἀσπαζομένοις τούτου καὶ χεῖρα καὶ παρεϊάν, τὴν ἀπὸ
τῆς σαρκὸς κοινωνίαν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἀνακηρύττει
τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀδιάσπαστον ἔνωσιν.
χεῖρ δέ γε καὶ παρεῖα τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ὑποδέχονται, ἡ μὲν
ὡς ὑπουργὸς καὶ τῶν φρικτῶν ἀπτομένη· ἡ παρεῖα δέ,
καὶ διὰ τὸ ὄργανον εἶναι τοῦ λόγου, ὅθεν αἱ προσευχαί,
καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ κοινωνίαν, ὃ καὶ τὸ
λεγόμενον βεβαίῳ «Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν», ἀλλὰ
καὶ διὰ τὸ κατὰ κόρης τὸν Κύριον ὑπενεγκεῖν
ῥάπισμα, ὡς ἂν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἄγῃται ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, οἷας
ταπεινώσεως ὁ Δεσπότης διδάσκαλος γέγονε, καὶ μὴ
κατὰ τι ἐν τοῖς οὕτω θείοις καὶ μεγάλοις ἔργοις
ἐπαίρηται.

100. Τῶν δὲ τοῦ βήματος ἐν τῷ βήματι μετασχόντων,
καὶ ἀναλόγως τῇ τάξει, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι
διδάσκει «Ἐκαστος» λέγων «ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ τάγματι» ταῖς
χερσὶ τε καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ θεῖον ἄρτον δεδεγμένων, καὶ τοῖς
χείλεσι τοῦ ποτηρίου μεταλαβόντων, ὕστερον τὰ
ἀγιώτατα δῶρα περικεκαλυμμένα καὶ τῷ λαῷ
δείκνυται. τοῦτο δ' ἐμφαίνει, ὅτι οὐ θεμιτόν, ὡς εἴρηται,
ἀπερικαλύπτως ὁρᾶν ταῦτα πάντας. εἰ δέ τις πρὸς

97. But the addition of the hot water even to the presanctified gifts demonstrates this yet more clearly. For there would be no need, if it were for any other purpose, to add hot water to the gifts since it had been added to the chalice in the previously completed liturgy.

<95.> Why is the hot water added to the presanctified gifts?

98. The bishop cuts up the other particles into many pieces and in this imitates the sacred-service of Jesus, for, as it is written, "He broke the bread and gave it to His disciples."¹⁶⁸ He receives communion with the bread first and partakes of the awe-inspiring chalice; for no one else gives it to him, unless he is of the same order, that is, a bishop.¹⁶⁹

<96.> That breaking the bread imitates the sacred-service of the Savior.

<97.> How do bishops and priests receive communion?

99. Then, having given a portion of it to all the others who kiss his hand and his cheek, he proclaims the communion of the body of Christ even in the coming age and the inseparable union with Him. Hand and cheek receive the kiss, the former as that which renders service and touches the awe-inspiring things, and the cheek because it is the organ of speech from which come the prayers, and because of the love and communion in Christ that the words, "Christ is in our midst"¹⁷⁰ confirm, but also because the Lord endured a blow on the side of the head, so that the bishop be reminded that the Master became a teacher of such humility, lest he be in any way exalted by doing such divine and great deeds.

<98.> What does it represent that the ordained kiss the bishop's right hand and cheek at communion?

§ L 152

100. After the ministers of the sanctuary have partaken in the sanctuary according to order, as Paul teaches, <will be the case> even in the age to come, saying, "each according to his own order,"¹⁷¹ having received the divine bread with their hands, and with their lips having partaken of the chalice, the most holy gifts are then covered and shown to the people. This manifests that, as has been said, it is not permissible for everyone to see these things uncovered. If someone is fit for communion and comes

<99.> Why do the ordained receive the mysteries in the sanctuary with hands and lips, while the laity receives outside by means of the spoon?

§ L 95, L 153

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Mt 26:26, Mk 14:22, and Lk 22:19.

¹⁶⁹ Clergy communion ritual: Brightman 394–396; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 70–72. Cf. Robert F. Taft, *The Communion, Thanksgiving and Concluding Rites* (History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, vol. VI) OCA 281 (2008) 96–119 and 142–148 for its origin and evolution.

¹⁷⁰ The greeting used at the kiss of peace, whose response is *Καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται* ("He is and will be"), *Ἀρχιερατικόν* 22.

¹⁷¹ Cf. 1 Cor 15:25.

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κοινωνίαν ἱκανός, καὶ οὗτος προσίων μετ' εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου, οὐκ ἀμέσως τούτων μετέχει, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς λαβίδος ἀρχιερατικῇ χειρὶ κοινωνεῖ. ἔτι δὲ τῷ λαῷ τὰ ἅγια δεικνύται, ἵνα καὶ προσκύνησιν ἀποδῶσι πάντες τῷ ὑπὲρ /ἡμῶν καὶ ἱερουργηθέντι καὶ τεθυμένῳ καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ προσενηνεγμένῳ, καὶ διὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως καὶ εὐχαριστίας καὶ ὀψεως καθαγιασθῶσι μὲν ὁλικῶς οἱ πιστοί, τύχῳσι δὲ ἰλασμοῦ οἱ τε παριστάμενοι, οἱ τε κατὰ λόγον ἀποδημοῦντες, καὶ οἱ ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ πιστοί, καὶ ἔτι οἱ προτελειωθέντες εὐσεβῶς καταξιωθῶσιν ἀνέσεως.

101. Διὸ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ πᾶς πιστὸς εὐχέσθω, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τότε ζώντων τε καὶ τεθνεώτων, καθορῶν διαλλακτὴν αὐτὸν δεικνύμενον τὸν Δεσπότην, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων γεγεννημένον θυσίαν καὶ ἰλαστήριον. καὶ σὺν φόβῳ παντὶ καὶ πόθῳ, τῶν θείων δεικνυμένων δώρων, πᾶς πιστὸς ἀπερικαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ πρὸς τὰ θεῖα δῶρα ὁράτω, καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας καὶ τρόμου προσκυνεῖτω, καὶ προσευχέσθω ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντων πιστῶν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἕως ὁ ἱερεὺς θυμιάσας ἀπενέγκῃ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ προθέσει. καὶ μηδεὶς κατὰ τὸν φρικτὸν ἐκείνον καιρὸν ἀμελείτω. αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἐμφανιζόμενος ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ αὐτὸ τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ τὸ θεϊότατον αἷμα. καὶ ὅπερ ἂν τις τότε εὐξαιτο μετὰ πίστεως, εὐρήσει ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι, καθὼς περ εἶπεν αὐτός. ταύτην τὴν μετὰ φόβου προσκύνησιν καὶ τὴν προσευχὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ εισόδῳ τῶν προηγιασμένων τελεῖν ὀφείλωμεν,⁷⁵ ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν ὁρῶντες ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἱερέως κρατούμενον.

forward with reverence and fear, he does not partake directly, but receives communion from the bishop's hand by means of the spoon.¹⁷² The holy things are shown again to the people, so that everyone may make a reverence to the One sacrificed in the sacred-service on our behalf and slain and offered to the Father, and that through the reverence, thanksgiving, and viewing, the faithful might be wholly and completely sanctified; that those present, those absent for good reason, and the faithful in all the world might attain reconciliation, and that the deceased might be deemed worthy of the remission of their sins.

101. Therefore let each of the faithful pray for himself § L 157 and for <the members of> his <family> living and deceased, perceiving the Master Himself, who became the sacrifice and propitiation for everyone manifested as mediator. When the divine gifts are shown, with all fear and desire, let everyone of the faithful with uncovered head behold the divine gifts, and with devotion and trembling make a reverence <to them> and pray for himself, for his family, and for all the faithful, as we said, until the priest, having incensed them, takes them away to the prothesis. At this awe-inspiring moment let no one be inattentive. For it is Christ Himself who is made manifest, and in the chalice are His all-holy body itself and His most divine blood. And whatever one prays for then with faith in His holy name,¹⁷³ he will receive, just as He said. And we ought to perform this reverence with fear and also the prayer at the entrance of the presanctified gifts, as if beholding Christ Himself borne on the head of the priest.

172 On the use of the spoon for communion, cf. Robert F. Taft, "Communion of the Laity II: The Tradition Abandoned," chapter 4 of *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites* (History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, vol. VI) OCA 281 (2008) 262–315.

173 Jn 14:13.

Τί σημαίνει τὸ
θυμιᾶν ὕστερον τὰ
μυστήρια καὶ τὸ
«Υψώθητι ὁ Θεός,»
ἐπιλέγειν;

102. Καὶ οὕτω τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κληρονομίαν καὶ τὸν
περιούσιον λαὸν ἐπευξάμενος, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἅπεισι
θυμιῶν τὰ δῶρα, ἐπιλέγων, ὅσα τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ
Σωτῆρος δηλοῖ, καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταύτην δόξαν τοῦ
κηρύγματος αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει, οἷονεὶ
διαλεγόμενος τῷ Σωτῆρι, καὶ λέγων, ὅτι «Σὺ κατῆλθες
μέχρις ἡμῶν, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὥφθης, καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς
ἀνελήλυθας, καὶ ἀναληφθεὶς, τῇ δόξῃ τῆς σῆς
δυνάμεως πεπλήρωκας πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, δι' ἧς καὶ ἡμεῖς
ἱεουργοῦντές σου τὰ μυστήρια, καὶ μετέχομέν σου, καὶ
μεθ' ἡμῶν διηνεκῶς ἔχομέν σε».

103. Ἐπὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἱερῶν δώρων ἐν τῇ προθέσει
ἀπενεχθέντων, διακόνου μὲν τὸν δίσκον ἐπὶ τῆς
κεφαλῆς, ἱερέων δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ ποτήρια κατεχόντων,
αὐτὸς εὐχαριστήσας, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας νιψάμενος, ἔξεισι
τὸ καλούμενον ἀντίδωρον ἀντιδιδούς τῷ λαῷ.

Τί ἐστὶ τὸ
καλούμενον
ἀντίδωρον, καὶ ἡ
τούτου δόσις;

104. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸν Χριστόν, ὡς εἵπομεν, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
εἰκονίζει, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ ἱερούργησε καὶ μετέσχε, καὶ τοῖς
ἱερωμένοις μετέδωκεν, ἁγιασμοῦ δὲ χρεῖα μετασχεῖν
καὶ τὸν λαόν, ὅσος μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν προσευχῶν ὁ ἁγιασμός
καὶ τῆς φρικτῆς ἱεουργίας νοητῶς τοῖς πιστοῖς
μετεδόθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ δι' αἰσθητῶν τινων ὡς σῶμα
περικειμένοις τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ἔδει λαβεῖν, διὰ τοῦ
ἀντιδώρου γίνεται τοῦτο δὲ ἡγιασμένος ἐστὶν ἄρτος ἐν
τῇ προθέσει προσεनेχθεὶς, ἐξ οὗ τὸ μεσαίτατον
ἐκβληθέν, καὶ ἱεουργηθῆναι προσεनेχθέν. οὗτος
ὕστερον, ὡς καὶ τῇ λόγχῃ σφραγισθεὶς, καὶ θεῖα
δεξάμενος ῥήματα, ἀντὶ τῶν δώρων τῶν φρικτῶν
δηλαδὴ μυστηρίων, τοῖς μὴ μετασχοῦσι τούτων
παρέχεται. οὕτω ποιήσας, καὶ /εὐλογίαν ἐπευξάμενος
τῷ λαῷ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, τέλος ἐπιτίθησι τῇ ἱερᾷ τελετῇ.

102. And, having thus prayed for the inheritance of God and His own people,¹⁷⁴ the bishop leaves, incensing the gifts and saying in addition what represents the Ascension of the Savior¹⁷⁵ and the glory after it of His proclamation to all creation, as if conversing with the Savior, and saying, "You came down to us and were seen among us and have ascended into heaven, and, having been taken up, You have filled the entire earth with the glory of Your power, through which we, doing the sacred-service of your mysteries, partake of You, and have You unceasingly with us."¹⁷⁶

<100.> What do the incensing of the gifts afterward and the accompanying verse, "Be exalted, O God," mean?

§ L 157

103. Following this, the sacred gifts are carried away to the prothesis, the deacon with the diskos on his head and the priests holding the chalices in their hands. Having given thanks and washed his hands, <the bishop> goes out to distribute what is called "antidoron" to the people.¹⁷⁷

§ L 159

104. Since, as we said, the bishop depicts Christ, he sacrificed in the sacred-service and partook of Him and gave a share of Him to the ordained, and it is also necessary for the people to partake of the sanctification, inasmuch as the sanctification of the prayers and of the awe-inspiring sacred-service was already shared with them spiritually.¹⁷⁸ But since it was necessary for those present to receive sanctification through some sensible things like a body, this takes place by means of the antidoron. This is sanctified bread, offered in the prothesis, out of which the center was removed and offered to be sacrificed in the sacred-service. Later this bread, since it also was sealed <by the sign of the cross> with the lance and received divine words, is provided in place of the gifts to those not receiving the awe-inspiring mysteries. Having done this and having prayed a blessing for the people, the bishop concludes the sacred rite.

<101.> What does the thing called "antidoron" and its distribution represent?

§ L 160

174 "Σῶσον, ὁ Θεός, τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου" ("O God, save your people and bless your inheritance,") the acclamation concluding communion: Brightman 396; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 72; Ps 27 (28):9.

175 "Ὑψώθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἡ δόξα σου" ("May you be raised up, O God, above the heavens, and your glory be over all the earth"): Brightman 396, *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 72; Ps 56 (57):6.

176 Apparently a hymn or prayer known to Symeon, which is not found in present use and does not appear in the voluminous index of Greek hymns, Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*.

177 Distribution of the antidoron: Brightman 399, *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 74.

178 Cf. E 17 footnote 26.

105. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν καὶ διεξοδικώτερον ἐβουλόμεθα τὰ τῆς ἱερωτάτης τελετῆς ἐρμηνεύσαι. ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἀδρανῆς ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς, καὶ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ θείων ἀνδρῶν τινὲς ἀξίως αὐτῶν τῆς ὑψηλῆς γνώσεως συνεγράψαντο, ἐκεῖσε παραπέμποντες ὑμᾶς, σιγῶμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαπερ εἵπομεν, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν εἵπομεν, ἀλλὰ ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντες ἐκ πατέρων, καὶ τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας μάλιστα διδασκάλων, οἱ περὶ τούτων ὑψηλοφρόνως ἐδίδαξαν. ἐμέλλομεν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ προθέσει διαλαβεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ περὶ τούτου ἐκείνοις ἡρμήνευται, οὐ χρεῖα λέγειν ἡμᾶς.

Τίνα λόγον ἔχουσιν αἱ προσαγόμεναι μερίδες, καὶ κατὰ τί λυσιτελοῦσι;

106. Μικρόν τι μόνον περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ προθέσει ὑπομνήσαι δέον ῥήθημεν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν περὶ τούτου παράδοσιν προσφέρει μὲν πρῶτον τὸν ἄρτον ὁ ἱερεὺς, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν ἔνωσιν τοῦ ποτηρίου ποιεῖται. εἴτα καὶ μερίδας προσφέρει τῷ Θεῷ, τὴν μὲν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου μητρος, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἐτέρας ὑπὲρ τε ζώντων καὶ κεκοιμημένων πιστῶν.

107. Ζητεῖται τοίνυν, τίνα αἱ μερίδες ἔχουσι δύναμιν, καὶ εἰ εἰς σῶμα μεταβάλλονται δεσποτικόν, καὶ τίνα συνεργίαν τελοῦσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν προσάγονται. ἔστι τοίνυν λόγος, παρὰ πατέρων εἰς ἡμᾶς ἥκων, ὡς αἱ προσαγόμεναι μερίδες πολλὴν ποιοῦσι τὴν λυσιτέλειαν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν προσώπων εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ ὧν προσάγονται, καὶ θυσία ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προσφερομένη Θεῷ, καθὰ καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς οὕτως ἐν τῷ προσάγειν φησὶ «Πρόσδεξαι, Κύριε, τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην». εἰσὶ τοίνυν αἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγίων προσαγόμεναι εἰς δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀνάβασιν τῆς ἀξίας καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ φωτισμοῦ παραδοχὴν μέζονα· αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν, κεκοιμημένων μὲν, εἰς λύτρωσιν

105. We indeed wanted to explain the most sacred rite in greater detail, but because our mind is weak, and because some of the greatest of divine men wrote from their lofty knowledge of these things, in referring you to them, let us fall silent. But whatever we say, we do not say of ourselves, but drawing on the fathers, and, most of all, on the teachers of piety¹⁷⁹ who taught about these things with lofty minds. We intended to deal with the <rites> in the prothesis, but, since they also expounded on this, we do not need to say anything.

<I. Final Notes>

106. There is only one small matter about the <rites> in the prothesis which we thought it appropriate to note. According to the tradition about this, the priest first offers the bread and then the chalice is mixed. Finally, he offers particles to God, one in honor of the Mother of the Lord, others for the saints, and the rest for the living and the faithful departed.¹⁸⁰

§ L 34, L 63

<102.> What is the reason for the particles offered and what good are they?

§ L 84, L 86

107. Therefore, it is asked, what power do the particles have, are they changed into the Lord's body, and what help do they bring about for those on whose behalf they are offered?¹⁸¹ Accordingly, a discussion has come down to us from the fathers that the offered particles provide great advantage, for they are there in place of the persons for whom they are offered, and are a sacrifice offered on their behalf to God, just as the priest says in offering them: "Receive, Lord, this sacrifice."¹⁸² The particles offered for the saints, then, are for their glory and honor, and their ascent in worthiness and greater acceptance of divine illumination. Those for the faithful departed are for the remission of sins, and the union of divine grace, while those for

179 Cf. E 1 footnote 2.

180 Brightman 356-359; *Eὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 38-42.

181 Ibid.

182 A formula used in the fifteenth century for making commemorations during the preparatory rites of the liturgy found in manuscript 8 (twelfth-fourteenth cent.) of the National Library in Athens, Trempeas, *Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, 3, left column and manuscript Vatican gr. 573 (fourteenth-fifteenth century) Nikolai Krasnosel'cev, *Материалы для чинопоследования литургии святого Иоанна Златоустого* (Materials for the history of the ritual order of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom; Kazan, 1889) 97-98.

ἀμαρτιῶν, καὶ θείας χάριτος ἔνωσιν, ζώντων δέ, εἰ μετανοία μόνον τὴν ζωὴν ἐξοικονομεῖν, εἰς δεινῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν, εἰς ἀμαρτημάτων ἄφεσιν, εἰς ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἐλπίδα. καὶ τοῖς ἀγίοις γὰρ ἀνάβασις γίνεται διὰ τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας, καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς, ὡς εἴρηται, θεοῦ ἐλέους χορηγεῖται μετάδοσις.

Ὅτι δεῖ προσέχειν
τὸν ἱερέα ὑπὲρ
τίνος τὴν μερίδα
προσάγει.

108. Ἀλλ' ὅσον τὸ ἔργον ἐπωφελές, γινόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀξίως προσφερόντων, τοσοῦτον ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ ἐπιβλαβές ὑπὲρ τῶν μὴ ἱκανῶς ἐχόντων ὡς δυνατόν ἀνθρώποις γινόμενον. ἡ μερὶς γὰρ ἡ ὑπὲρ τίνος προσαχθεῖσα, ἐγγὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρτου κειμένη, ἐν τῷ ἐκεῖνον ἱερουργηθῆναι καὶ σῶμα γενέσθαι Χριστοῦ, εὐθὺς ἀγιασμοῦ καὶ αὐτὴ μετέχει. εἰσκομισθεῖσα δὲ καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ ἐνοῦται τῷ αἵματι. διὸ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ, ὑπὲρ οὗ προσήχθη, παραπέμπει τὴν χάριν. γίνεται οὖν κοινωνία νοητή, καὶ εἰ μὲν τῶν εὐλα/βείας μεταποιουμένων ἐστίν, ἢ τῶν ἡμαρτηκόντων μὲν, μετανενοηκόντων δέ, ἀοράτως, ὡς ἔφημεν, τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος ὁ ἀνθρώπος δέχεται. πολλάκις δέ γε καὶ σωματικὴν εὐρίσκει, ὡς ἐμάθομεν, τὴν ὠφέλειαν.

PG 749

109. Εἰ δέ τις τὴν ἀμαρτίαν διενεργῶν εἴη, καὶ ταύτης μηδὲν ἀφιστάμενος, ἀνεπιτηδείως ἔχων πρὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν, εἰς κατάκριμα ἑαυτῷ ἔσται καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θυσία. ὁθεν καὶ προσεκτέον ἐστί, μὴ λαμβάνειν τὸν ἱερέα παρὰ παντός τοῦ βουλευμένου προσφορὰν, μηδὲ προσφέρειν ὑπὲρ τοιούτων, οἱ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνέδην διενεργοῦσι, μὴ ποτε καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς συγκατακριθῇ. ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ πειρασμοὶ καὶ θλίψεις παρέπονται. «Διὰ τοῦτο» γάρ φησιν «ἐν ἡμῖν πολλοὶ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄρρωστοι καὶ κοιμῶνται ἱκανοί».

110. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἐν τοῖς οὕτω μεγίστοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔργοις ἑαυτῷ προσέχειν, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνακρίνειν, ὡς γέγραπται, προσεκτικόν τε εἶναι ὡς δύνამις. εἰ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὗτος ἀσφαλίζεσθαι χρειαν ἔχει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ εἰ ὁ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων ἀναξίως, ἤτοι κοινωνῶν μόνον «Κρίμα ἑαυτῷ ἐσθίει

the living, provided they lead lives of repentance, are for the deliverance from terrors, for the forgiveness of sins and for the hope of eternal life. For the <spiritual> ascent occurs for the saints through the divine sacred-service, and an imparting of divine mercy is provided abundantly for the faithful, as was said.

108. But as useful as this is when it takes place on behalf of those offering worthily, it is just as dangerous and harmful when it takes place on behalf of those not living as fittingly as is possible for humans. For, lying right next to the divine bread as it is being sacrificed in the sacred-service and becomes the body of Christ, the particle offered for someone itself also partakes immediately of His holiness. Placed in the chalice, it is united with His blood. Therefore it passes on the grace to the soul for whom it was offered. A spiritual¹⁸³ communion therefore takes place. If the person is one of those who strive for devotion or who have sinned and are repenting, he receives in an unseen manner the communion of the Spirit in the soul, as we said. Often the person also obtains physical benefits, as we have learned.

<103.> That the priest needs to be attentive <of the one> for whom he offers particles.

§ E 60, L 105

109. But if someone is actively sinful, has not rejected his sins and is unfit for communion, the sacrifice for him will be for his condemnation. Therefore the priest must be attentive not to accept a prosphora from just anyone wishing to give one, and not to make an offering on behalf of those who are actively <and> carelessly sinners, so as not to be condemned with them. From such actions arise temptations and afflictions. For "because of this, there are many weak and sickly among us and a good number have died."¹⁸⁴

§ E 60, L 105

110. The priest must also be attentive to himself in such great works of God,¹⁸⁵ and examine himself closely, as it is written, being as attentive as he can. For if he has need of being certain of others, so much more must he be certain regarding himself. And if the one eating and drinking unworthily, that is who receives communion, only "eats

183 Cf. E 17 footnote 26.

184 1 Cor 11:30.

185 Cf. Lev 22:2 and 1 Cor 11:28.

καὶ πίνει», πολλῶ μᾶλλον ὁ ἀναξίως ἱεουργῶν. διὰ τοῦτο πάση δυνάμει προσέχωμεν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ ἱερατεῦειν λαχόντες, καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ καθαρότητος ἐπιμελώμεθα καὶ ἀμνησικάκου τρόπου. ταπείνωσις δὲ καὶ ἀγάπη ἡμῶν ἀξανεσθῶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς (ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἱεουργουμένου ὑφ' ἡμῶν), ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἀξίως αὐτοῦ μετέχοντες, καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι τῆς αὐτοῦ καταξιωθῶμεν ἀνεκφράστου καὶ αἰωνίου κοινωνίας, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος Θεοῦ· ᾧ πρέπει δόξα σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ αὐτοῦ Πατρί, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

and drinks condemnation for himself,"¹⁸⁶ so much more does the one unworthily doing the sacred-service. Because of this let us whose lot it is to serve as priests be attentive with all our strength, and let us by all means cultivate purity and a forgiving character. Let our humility and love strengthen souls (for this is the work of the One who is sacrificed in the sacred-service on our behalf), so that worthily partaking of Him in this age, we may be deemed worthy of His unutterable and eternal communion in the age to come, by the grace and love for mankind of the same Christ, the Son of the living God, to whom is due glory with His Father without beginning, and to the holy and vivifying Spirit, now and ever, and to the ages of ages. Amen.

¹⁸⁶ 1 Cor 11:29.

ST. SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA

Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς Λειτουργίας

On the Sacred Liturgy

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ

Z f 23, l. 16.

PG 155: 253

Ἀρχὴ τῶν τῆς ἱερᾶς
λειτουργίας¹

1. Ἀρχιερεύς· Χάρις ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί,² δι' ὑμῶν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦτο κινούμενος τινὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μανθάνω, καὶ οὐκ αἰδοῦμαι τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖν· δι' ὑμᾶς οὖν καὶ δι' ἐμέ, καὶ ἔτι λέξω τὰ κατὰ δύναμιν.

2. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἶη, περὶ τῆς φρικτῆς καὶ θείας ἱερουργίας διαλαβεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ μέγας ἐκτίθησι Διονύσιος, μετὰ τὴν τελετὴν τοῦ θειοτάτου μύρου περὶ ταύτης εἰπών.

3. Πλὴν μὴ τις τολμητὰς ἡμᾶς ὑποπτεύσειε, μὴδὲ ὑψηλοφροσύνην ἡμῖν ἐγκαλέσειε,³ περὶ τῶν οὕτω μεγίστων ἐπιχειροῦσι λέγειν, ἃ δὴ ἀποστολικοὶ καὶ θεῖοι ἄνδρες ἡρμήνευσαν, καὶ τοιοῦτοι ὡς ὑπεραρθῆναι τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ Θεοῦ μυστήρια ἄρρητα μνηθῆναι.

4. Οὐχ ἵνα τοίνυν περισσότερον εἶπομεν — μηδαμῶς ἡμῖν, Κύριε, ἡ τοιαύτη ἔλθοι ἀπόνοια, καὶ βλασφημία μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν — ἀλλ' ἀγιαζόμενος τὸν νοῦν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκείνοις, καὶ ὀδηγούμενος ὡς τέκνον καὶ δούλος αὐτῶν εἰς φῶς γνώσεως θειοτέρας, ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι οὐρανίως || καὶ ἀξίως αὐτῶν συνεγράψαντο, ὅσον ἐγχωρεῖ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων κάμοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐκτίθημι ἐν ἀγάπῃ. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιταγὴ ἐκείνων καὶ κέλευσμα· καὶ ὅτι ἐπεὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς αὐτῶν τῆς αὐτῶν χάριτος ἡξιώμεθα, ἀναγκαῖον περὶ ὧν ἐνεργοῦμεν θείων, ἐξετάζειν καὶ μεριμνᾶν, ἵνα πρὸς γνῶσιν χειραγωγώμεθα μείζονα κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐκμίμησιν· ὅτι καὶ τούτου χάριν οὗτοι τὰ θεία ἡρμήνευον.

5. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, ἣν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν ὁ ἱσαπόστολος ὀνομάζει ἱερὸς Διονύσιος, ἐκ τούτου καὶ λοιπῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίων

f 23v

1 Beside l. 13 f. 23v, left marg.

2 ἀδελφε PG.

3 ἐγκαλέση Z¹.

ON THE SACRED LITURGY

<A. Opening Remarks>

1. Bishop: Thank you, brothers, for, urged by you <to compose> this <work>, I am learning certain necessary things, and am not ashamed to confess this. For your sake and mine, therefore, I shall speak further to the best of my ability.

Beginning of the discussion of the sacred liturgy.

2. It would be fitting, then, that I discuss the awe-inspiring and divine sacred-service. For this is how the great Dionysios also presented it, speaking about this after the rite of the most divine anointing.¹

3. But let no one suspect us of being daring or accuse us of haughtiness for attempting to speak about such great things, which apostolic and divine men have interpreted, men of such greatness that they have been exalted above the heavens and initiated into the ineffable mysteries of God.

4. It is not, therefore, in order that we might add anything further — let, O Lord, such madness, or rather such blasphemy, never befall us! — but sanctified in mind by what they have said and led as their child and servant to the light of more divine knowledge by what they have composed in a celestial manner worthy of themselves, I set forth in love for the sake of both myself and the brothers what they have said, as far as possible. And this is their command and ordinance: that, since through their prayers we have been deemed worthy of their grace, it is necessary for us to examine and take diligent care concerning the divine things which we perform, in order that we may be led to greater understanding in imitation of them, and that it is for this very reason that they interpreted the divine things. § E 12

5. Now we have already in our other works spoken to the best of our ability about <the rites of> the sacred liturgy, which the sacred Dionysios, equal-to-the-apostles,

1 Here Symeon is mistaken about the order. In *Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας*, chapter three deals with the (eucharistic) synaxis, chapter four with anointing, and chapter five with ordination; Pseudo-Dionysios, *Corpus* 2:79–114 (PG 3:424B–516C); *Works* 209–243.

αὐτῷ λαβόντες τὰς ἀφορμάς, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις εἰρήκαμεν κατὰ δύναμιν, περὶ τε ναοῦ θείου, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐνδυμάτων, καὶ περὶ τῆς μυσταγωγίας τῆς ἱερᾶς.⁴ καὶ νῦν δὲ⁵ ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὡς ἐν βραχεὶ τὰ περὶ τούτου ὡς ἰσχύς ἐρμηνεύσομεν διὰ τε τὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐπόμενον, καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν μυστηρίων.

6. Κοινωνία τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἔνωσις Θεοῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν, θέωσις ἡμῶν, ἁγιασμός, χάριτος πλήρωμα, ἔλλαμψις, ἀποτροπὴ παντὸς ἐναντίου, χορηγία παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ. καὶ τί ἕτερον ἢ Θεοῦ σύγκρασις τε καὶ κοινωνία; τοῦτο μυστήριον μυστηρίων, καὶ ἁγίων ἁγιασμός, καὶ ὄντως ἁγίων ἅγιον, καὶ τελετῶν ἀπασῶν τελετὴ, καὶ τελετάρχης τε καὶ τελεστική. ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ μόνος τελετάρχης Λόγος αὐτὴν εἰργάσατο καὶ παρέδωκε, καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν αὕτη· καὶ ἵνα μένη μεθ' ἡμῶν αὐτὴν παραδέδωκεν.⁶ ὁ μὲν οὖν θεῖος Διονύσιος συνάγων τὰ τῆς τελετῆς τῆς μεγίστης ταύτης τῇ μεγίστῃ /φράσει τε καὶ ἐννοίᾳ, πάντα ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ ἐκτίθεται, καὶ λαμπρότατα θεωρεῖ, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ποιεῖ⁷ μυστηρίων.

7. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀδρανεῖς ὄντες καὶ ἔσχατοι τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ μαθηταί, πῶς τὰ ἐκείνου κατίδωμεν; ὁμως ὅσον ἰσχύσαμεν εἰς φωτισμὸν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν ἐκ τούτου καταμαθεῖν, καὶ ἔτι τῶν λοιπῶν τούτου διαδόχων τῆς χάριτος καὶ θείων πατέρων ἡμῶν, κατὰ δύναμιν ἐροῦμεν, ὡς ἐζητήσατε· διὸ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ προθέσει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τελουμένων || ἀπάντων διαλαβεῖν σπουδάσωμεν,⁸ ἐξετάζοντες, ὡς ἰσχύς, τίνας λόγους ἕκαστον ἔχει. καὶ δὴ λέγομεν ἐν Χριστῷ.

PG 256

f 24

4 τῆς ἱερᾶς μυσταγωγίας PG.
45-46. 7 ποιεῖ above line Z¹.

5 δὲ om. PG.

6 παρέδωκεν L (ed. Fountoulis) 258, 1
8 σπουδάσωμεν PG.

calls eucharist and communion,² taking him and others like him as a point of departure, <in dealing with> both the divine temple and the sacred vestments, as well as with the sacred mystagogy.³ And now in accordance with what has been said, we shall explain what regards this in brief to the best of our ability, both with reference to the line of thought and the order of the mysteries.

6. Communion, then, is God's union with us, our deification, sanctification, fullness of grace, enlightenment, prevention of everything against us, and granting of every good. What else is both a commingling and communion with God? This is the mystery of mysteries, the sanctification of saints, truly the holy of holies, the rite of all rites, both the beginning author and final completion of the rites. Since the originator of the rite, the Word, alone established it and passed it on, He Himself is <the rite>; and in order that He remain with us, He has passed it on. So, gathering together the elements of this most great rite, the divine Dionysios sets it all forth in brief and contemplates it most splendidly with the greatest expression and meaning,⁴ as he does also for the other mysteries.

7. But we, weak as we are and the last disciples of his disciples, how can we comprehend his works? However, as you have asked, we set forth here according to our ability as much as we have managed to learn from him for the illumination of our souls and also from the rest of his successors of grace and our divine fathers. Therefore let us set about earnestly treating the rites performed in the prothesis⁵ and all the rites in the sanctuary, examining, insofar as our strength permits, the reason for each of them. And, what is more, we speak in Christ.

2 Of the three terms Symeon uses here — sacred liturgy (ιερά λειτουργία), eucharist (εὐχαριστία), and communion (κοινωνία) — Pseudo-Dionysios uses two in his introductory discussion of names for the eucharist: εὐχαριστία and κοινωνία. Pseudo-Dionysios also refers to the eucharist as ιερουργία (used by Symeon in E 8, 10, 12, 15, 22, 23 etc. and L 2, 21, 26, 29, 34 etc.) and συνάξις (not used by Symeon to describe the eucharist in these commentaries). *Corpus* 2:79–80 (PG 3:424B–425B); *Works* 209–210.

3 Here Symeon refers to E, the earlier of the two commentaries.

4 Chapter 3 of *Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας*, *Corpus* 2:79–94 (PG 3:424B–445C); *Works* 209–224.

5 πρόθεσις occurs eleven times in L, five times clearly indicating the place for the preparatory rites, four times indicating the ritual itself, and twice in contexts that could mean either the place or the rite; cf. προσκομιδή in L 25.

Τί δηλοῖ ἡ τοῦ
 ἱεράρχου ἐκ τοῦ
 θρόνου κατάβασις,
 καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ
 ἐνδύματα, καὶ τὸ
 ταῦτα ἐνδύσασθαι;

8. Ὁ ἱεράρχης κατέρχεται τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο ἡ
 Θεοῦ συγκατάβασις, καὶ προσκυνήσας τρεῖς τῷ Θεῷ,
 ἐξαίτεται χάριν καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ ἐκτελέσαι τὰ θεία,
 δεικνὺς ὅτι δοῦλος Θεοῦ, καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἰσχυΐ τοὺς αὐτοῦ
 ἐξυπηρετεῖ.

9. Εἶτα τὰ ἱερὰ ἐνδύεται ἁμφία, ἑπτὰ ὄντα διὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ
 ἐνεργείας τοῦ Πνεύματος. ταῦτα δέ εἰσι στιχάριον,
 ἐπιτραχήλιον, ζώνη, ἐπιμανίκια, ἐπιγονάτιον, φαινόλιον,
 ἢ σάκκος, ἢ πολυσταύριον, καὶ τέλος ὠμοφόριον.
 ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ τὴν ἐνανθρωπήσιν δηλοῦσι Χριστοῦ, καὶ
 τὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἰδία δὲ ἕκαστον σημασίαν ἔχει
 τινά.

10. Τὸ μὲν στιχάριον λευκὸν ὄν, τὸ φῶς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ
 καθαρὸν, καὶ ὅτι καθαρὰν καὶ ἡμῶν τὴν φύσιν⁹ ἔκτισε
 καὶ προσείληφεν. εἰ δὲ πορφυροῦν, διὰ τὸ πάθος, ὅτι τὸ
 αἷμα ἐξέχεε δι' ἡμᾶς ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας Λόγος. οἱ ἐν
 αὐτῷ δὲ ποταμοί, τὰ χαρίσματα τῆς διδασκαλίας, ἔτι δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν κρουνοὺς. διὸ
 καὶ μόνον τούτους τὸ ἀρχιερατικὸν στιχάριον κέκτηται.

11. Ὡς καὶ ὁ μανδύας, αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν προνοητικὴν καὶ
 συνεκτικὴν καὶ σκεπαστικὴν χάριν ἐκτυπῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ,
 καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα συνέχων καὶ¹⁰ συλλαμβάνων. οἱ
 ποταμοὶ δὲ τὰ διάφορα τῆς διδασκαλίας κινήματα, ἐκ
 τῶν δύο πηγάζοντα ἀεννάως Διαθηκῶν, τῆς Παλαιᾶς
 τε καὶ Νέας, ἃς δηλοῦσι τὰ πώματα· καὶ ἔτι τὴν ἐν τῷ
 στήθει ἥτοι τῇ καρδίᾳ ἀνεωγμένην γνῶσιν τοῦ
 Εὐαγγελίου Χριστοῦ, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς
 χειροτονούμενος ἀνεωγμένον ἐδέξατο.

9 καὶ ἡμῶν τὴν φύσιν] τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν PG.

10 καὶ om. PG.

<B. Vesting of the Bishop and the Priest>

8. The hierarch descends from his throne, representing the descent of God, making three reverences to God, and prays for the grace and power to accomplish the divine things, showing that he is a servant of God and that by His strength He serves His own <servants>.

<79.> What do the descent of the hierarch from the throne, the sacred vestments, and putting them on represent?

§ E 43

9. Then he puts on the sacred vestments, which are seven because of the seven energies of the Spirit. These are the sticharion, the epitachelion, the cincture, the cuffs,⁶ the epigonation, the phelonion,⁷ sakkos, or polystaurion, and finally the omophorion. They all represent the becoming human⁸ of Christ; each signifies some particular aspect of <His> becoming human.

10. The sticharion, when it is white, signifies the light and purity of God and that He created our nature pure and took it on Himself. But if it is purple on account of the Passion, <it signifies> that the Word become human⁹ shed His blood for us. The rivers ("potamoi") on it <represent> the gifts of teaching and also the streams of our Savior's blood. Therefore only the episcopal sticharion has these.

§ E 31, L 17

11. Likewise the mandyas; it typifies the provident and sustaining grace of God, encompassing and encasing the whole body, while the rivers ("potamoi") on it <typify> the different movements of teaching, pouring forth perpetually from the two Testaments, the Old as well as the New, which the pomata¹⁰ represent; and they also <typify> the knowledge of Christ's Gospel opened up in the breast, that is the heart, the Gospel which he who is being ordained receives open on his head.

§ E 33

6 Here Symeon has ἐπιμανύαα. He also uses the form ἐπιμάνυα for the cuffs in E, cf. E 37 footnote 55.

7 For the outer priestly vestment, Symeon always uses phainolion (φαινόλιον), an alternative to the more common form phelonion (φελώνιον), cf. Clugnet 160-161.

8 Cf. E 8 footnote 15.

9 Ibid.

10 Cf. E 33 footnote 46.

12. Διὸ καὶ «Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ», φησί, «ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος», ἥτοι τοῦ Πνεύματος αἱ ἐνέργειαι, ὡς αὐτὸ διδάσκει τὸ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, λέγον· «Τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγε περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, οὗ ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν οἱ πιστεύοντες εἰς αὐτόν»· καὶ ὅτι χάριν λαμβάνομεν, καὶ οὐ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἐπάγει «οὐπω γὰρ ἦν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐδέπω ἐδοξάσθη». τί τοῦτο λέγων «Οὐπω ἦν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον»; καὶ γὰρ¹¹ ἦν, καὶ ἔστι, καὶ ἔσται, κατὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν· καὶ πηγὴ χαρισμάτων αἰεὶ ἔστιν. ||

f 24v

PG 257

Περὶ τοῦ

ἀρχιερατικοῦ

μανδύου τε καὶ τοῦ

ἐγκολπίου καὶ τῆς

ποιμαντικῆς

ῥάβδου.

13. /Ἀλλ' οὐπω ἐδόθη τὰ τούτου χαρίσματα, ἐπεὶ οὐδέπω ἡ διὰ σταυροῦ προσηνέχθη θυσία. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστι τὸ «Ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐδέπω ἐδοξάσθη»· ἐπεὶ δόξα Χριστοῦ ὁ σταυρὸς ἔστι.¹² τυθέντος οὖν καὶ θανόντος καὶ ἀναστάντος καὶ ἀνελθόντος Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τότε τὸ Πνεῦμα κατήλθε καὶ τὴν χάριν ἐλάβομεν· καὶ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας τῶν πιστῶν οἱ ποταμοὶ τῶν δωρεῶν ῥέουσι. καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῖ ὁ μανδύας.

14. Καὶ ἡ σφραγὶς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στήθει ἐκκρεμαμένη διὰ σταυρίου ἡ ἐγκολπίου τινός. καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τῷ στήθει διὰ τὴν ἐκ καρδίας ὁμολογίαν. ἡ ῥάβδος δὲ ἦν κατέχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν δηλοῖ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ τὸ στηρικτικὸν τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποιμαντικὸν καὶ τὸ ὀδηγεῖν δύνασθαι, καὶ τὸ παιδεύειν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, καὶ τὸ συνάγειν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τοὺς μακράν, διὸ καὶ λαβὰς ὡς ἀγκύρας ἄνωθεν ἔχει, καὶ τὸ διώκειν τοὺς θηριώδεις τε καὶ λυμαντικούς, καὶ τελευταῖον τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ νικῶμεν, καὶ στηριζόμεθα, καὶ ὀδηγούμεθα, καὶ ποιμαίνόμεθα, καὶ σφραγιζόμεθα, καὶ παιδαγωγούμεθα, καὶ ἐλκόμεθα εἰς Χριστὸν τὰ πάθη νεκροῦντες, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους διώκομεν, καὶ πάντοθεν φυλαττόμεθα.

11 γὰρ om. Z.

12 ἔστι om. PG.

12. Therefore <Christ> says, "He who believes in me, § E 33
rivers of living water will flow from his belly,"¹¹ that is,
the energies of the Spirit, as the sacred Gospel itself
teaches when it says, "He said this about the Spirit, which
those believing in Him were to receive."¹² And <to show>
that we receive grace, but not the nature of the Spirit, it
adds, "For there was no Holy Spirit yet, because Jesus was
not yet glorified."¹³ What is the meaning of "there was no
Holy Spirit yet"? For indeed It was, and is, and will be,
according to its nature and hypostasis, and is forever the
source of gifts.

13. But the Spirit's gifts had not yet been given, since the <80.> About the epis-
sacrifice by means of the cross had not yet been offered. copal mandyas and
For this is what "because Jesus was not yet glorified"¹⁴ also the enkolpion
means, since the glory of Christ is the cross. So, when and pastoral (shep-
Christ was sacrificed, died, rose, and ascended for us, then herd's) staff.
the Spirit descended and we received Its grace, and from
the heart of the faithful the rivers of gifts flow. And the
mandyas represents this.

14. And the seal and confession of the faith hanging on
the breast of the bishop <is represented> by means of a
cross or some enkolpion. For this is on the breast because
of confession from the heart. The staff which he holds rep-
resents the authority of the Spirit, the support of the
people, the pastorate, the power to lead the way, to disci-
pline the disobedient, to gather close to him those far
away (which is why it has handles like anchors on top),
and to drive away the savage and the destructive ones;
and finally it represents the cross of Christ and the sign of
victory, in which we conquer, and are supported, led on
the way, shepherded, sealed, taught,¹⁵ and drawn to
Christ, mortifying the passions, as we drive off the
enemies and are protected on every side.

11 *κοιλία*, Liddell-Scott 966-967: "1. cavity of the body, i.e., thorax with abdomen; 2. belly, abdomen; 3. intestines." Not in Lampe. Modern biblical translations in English, such as the Revised Standard Version and the New Jerusalem Bible, translate the word as "heart"; Jn 7:38.

12 Jn 7:39.

13 Ibid.

14 Jn 7:39.

15 Or "trained." Cf. *παιδαγωγούμεθα*, Liddell-Scott (*παιδαγωγεῖον/παιδαγωγέω*) 1286, Lampe (*παιδαγωγέω*) 995: "teach, instruct, train."

f 24v

15. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λαμπάδα ἡμμένην προηγεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν λάμπιν δηλοῖ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ χάριτος, καὶ τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ μεταδοτικὸν αὐτῆς πρὸς τε ἱερατικούς, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πιστοὺς ἅπαντας. πάντα γὰρ τὰ δῶρα ἐν πᾶσι διὰ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς χάριτος, καὶ οὐδὲν χωρὶς αὐτῆς.

f 25

16. Διὸ καὶ τελεστικός¹³ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὡς τελειῶν ἅπαντας καὶ τῶν τελετῶν πηγή¹⁴ παρὰ τῷ ἱερῷ Διονυσίῳ καλεῖται, καὶ τὸν Πατέρα ἐκμμεῖται τῶν φώτων, καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχει τὴν χάριν, οἱ φῶς¹⁵ || τοῦ κόσμου ἐκλήθησαν. καὶ τὸ¹⁶ διδασκαλικὸν δὲ χάρισμα τὸ φῶς προῖον σημαίνει, τὴν λάμπιν παρέχον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ γνώσεως καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν,¹⁷ καὶ ἔτι τὴν ἀγγελικὴν τε¹⁸ καὶ θείαν,¹⁹ κεκαθαρμένην τε²⁰ καὶ φωτεινὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν βιοτὴν, καὶ μάλιστα γε τῶν διδασκάλων, περὶ ὧν γέγραπται· «Λαμπάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσι τὰ καλὰ ὑμῶν ἔργα, καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν Πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς»· καὶ ἔτι ὅτι πρὸς τὸ φῶς ὁδηγεῖ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐκμμούμενος Χριστὸν τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, ὡς εἴρηται,²¹ ὅτι καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πλουτεῖ χάριν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγει τοὺς ἐπομένους αὐτῷ.²² || ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα δηλοῦσι, καὶ ἔτι μείζονα, οἷα ἂν τις ἐννοήσῃ²³ τῶν θείων.

f 24v, l. 17

Ὅτι ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἱερά ἐνδύματα²⁴ καὶ τίνα ταῦτα, καὶ τί ἕκαστον τούτων δηλοῖ.

17. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐνδύεται μὲν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, τὸ στιχάριον ὡς ἐνδυμα ἀφθαρσίας φωτεινὸν καὶ ἀγωσύνης, τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ φωτιστικὸν Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀγνὸν καὶ λαμπρὸν δηλοῦν· καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν φησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ «Ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ».

13 τελεστικός Z² after corr.] φωτιστικός Z¹ before corr., φωτιστικὸν PG. 14 ὡς τελειῶν ἅπαντας καὶ τῶν τελετῶν πηγή add above line Z², om. PG. 15 Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λαμπάδα... οἱ φῶς Z², PG] in lower marg.; after οἱ φῶς illegible text in lower marg. 16 τὸν Z¹. 17 καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν] above line Z². 18 τε add above line Z²; om. PG. 19 καὶ add Z². 20 τε add Z above line, om. PG. 21 ἔφη PG. 22 τοῦ κόσμου ἐκλήθησαν. ... τοὺς ἐπομένους αὐτῷ] lower marg. f 25 Z², PG. 23 τις ἐννοήσοι] τις ἐν σήσοι PG. 24 [Τὸ στιχάριον, τὸ ἐπιτραχήλιον, ἡ ζώνη, τὸ ἐπιγονάτιον, τὰ ἐπιμανίκια, τὸ φαινόλιον, τὸ πολυσταύριον.] added footnote in PG.

15. But the lighted candle going before him also represents the brilliance of the grace in the bishop, and the imparting of grace through him, both to the ordained and also to all the rest of the faithful. For all the gifts in everyone come through the bishop's grace and none without it.

16. Therefore the bishop is called *a consecrator* by the sacred Dionysios, *because he consecrates everyone, and is the source of the rites*,¹⁶ and he imitates the Father of lights¹⁷ and Jesus, the true light,¹⁸ and has the grace of the apostles, who were called light of the world.¹⁹ And the light going before signifies the gift of teaching, which provides the brilliance of the knowledge of God and of the virtues, and further <it signifies> both the angelic and divine life, as well as the purified and radiant life of the sacred men, and especially of the teachers, about whom it is written, "Let your light shine before men, so that they see your good works and glorify your Father in heaven."²⁰ And also <it signifies> that the bishop leads the way to the light, imitating Christ, the light of the world, as has been said, and that he is rich in His grace and he leads those who follow to Him.²¹ These represent such things, and even greater ones, such as someone might conceive of the divine things. § E 27

17. As we said, the bishop puts on the sticharion as a shining vestment of incorruption and holiness, representing the purity and illumination of Jesus, and the chastity and radiance of the angels, and he says the prayer from the psalm, "My soul shall rejoice in the Lord."²² <81.> That the bishop has seven sacred vestments, what these are, and what each represents.

§ E 31, L 10

16 Symeon accurately reflects the basic line of Pseudo-Dionysios' view of hierarchy and the Church's rites, but Pseudo-Dionysios does not say of the bishop either that "he consecrates everyone" (τελειῶν ἅπαντας) or that he is "the source of the rites" (τῶν τελετῶν πηγὴ). Cf. *Corpus* 2:63–68 (PG 3:369D–377B); *Works* 195–200.

17 Cf. Jas 1:17.

18 Cf. Jn 1:9.

19 Cf. Mt 5:14.

20 Mt 5:16.

21 L 15 and 16 are found in the lower margin of Z ff 24v–25, one of only two texts written in the margins in the second hand (Z², i.e. by Symeon himself) to be included in PG; cf. L 115–116.

22 Opening of the verse for vesting the sticharion in contemporary usage; Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 36; cf. Is 61:10.

PG 260

18. Εἶτα τὸ ἐπιτραχήλιον τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς δοθεῖσαν χάριν σημαῖνον· καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦτό φησιν «Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐκχέων τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱε/ρεῖς αὐτοῦ».

f 25

19. Εἶτα τὴν ζώνην, τὴν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἰσχὺν ἐκτυποῦσαν περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν τιθεμένην, καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ μαρτυρεῖ· ἐν τῷ περιζωννύεσθαι, φησι, γάρ· «Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὁ περιζωννύων με δύναμιν». ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς διακονίας ἔργον δηλοῖ· ὁ γὰρ διακονῶν περιζώννεται· καὶ ἔτι || τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀγνείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς κειμένην καὶ τὴν ὀσφύν.²⁵

20. Ἐπειτα τὸ ἐπιγονάτιον, τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκην δηλοῦν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνάστασιν, ὅπερ καὶ ὡς σχῆμα ῥομφαίας ἔχει· καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦτό φησι· «Περίζωσαι τὴν ῥομφαίαν σου ἐπὶ τὸν μηρόν σου, δυνατέ», ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν νίκην, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς καθαρότητος καὶ ἀναμαρτησίας δηλῶν. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀσφύος ἐκκρέματα· καὶ «τῇ ὡραιότητί σου καὶ τῷ κάλλει σου», φησί, «καὶ ἔντειναι καὶ²⁶ κατευοδοῦ καὶ βασίλευε ἕνεκεν ἀληθείας καὶ πραότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης», καὶ ἀληθείας μὲν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ «ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθεια πρὸ προσώπου» τοῦ Θεοῦ. πραότητος δέ, διὰ τῶν παθημάτων τὴν ὑπομονήν. καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι μὴ ἁμαρτήσας, θανὼν, τὸν θάνατον ὤλεσεν.

25 τῆς ὀσφύος Z¹.

26 καὶ om. PG.

18. Then, he puts on the epitachelion, signifying the § E 34
grace given on the head from on high out of heaven, and
the prayer says this, "Blessed is God, who pours out His
grace on His priests."²³

19. Then <he puts on> the cincture placed on the loins, § E 35
typifying the strength from God, and the prayer <recited>
as it is put on bears witness to this, for it says, "Blessed is
God, who girds me with strength."²⁴ And at the same time
it also represents the work of the diaconate, for he who
ministers as deacon is girded;²⁵ and also <it represents>
self-control and chastity, which are located in the kidneys
and the loins.

20. Then <he puts on> the epigonation, representing the § E 36, L 29
victory over death and the Resurrection of the Savior. It
has the shape of a sword, and the prayer says this: "Gird
Your sword upon Your thigh, O mighty One,"²⁶ repre-
senting by this the power, the victory, and the rising of
Christ by means of His purity and sinlessness. On account
of this it hangs on the loins. Scripture says, "In the bloom
of Your youth and Your beauty, prosper and bend Your
bow and reign because of truth, meekness, and righteous-
ness."²⁷ "Truth" because He is the truth, and "mercy and
truth are before the face" of God;²⁸ "meekness" because of
His patience under sufferings; and "righteousness"
because, not having sinned, He put an end to death by
dying.²⁹

23 Opening of the verse for vesting the epitachelion in contemporary usage; Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 36–37; cf. Ps 132 (133):2.

24 Opening of the verse for vesting the cincture in contemporary usage; Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 37; cf. Ps 17 (18):32.

25 The text plays on the double meaning of *διάκονος* ("servant" or "deacon") in the terms *διακονία* (the diaconate) and *διακονώ* (to minister as deacon), which refer to both the liturgical diaconate and the work of servants. Cf. *διάκονος* Lampe 352–354.

26 Ps 44 (45):3.

27 This and the previous quotation contain most of the verse for vesting the epigonation in contemporary usage; Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 37; cf. Ps 44 (45):4.

28 Cf. Ps 88 (89):15.

29 Cf. the Easter troparion, "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι ζωὴν χαρισάμενος" ("Christ rose from the dead, by death having trampled death, and to those in the tombs granting life"), *Πεντηκοστάριον* (Pentecostarion; Athens, 1927) 2.

21. Εἶτα λαμβάνει τὰ ἐπιμανίκια· ἃ δὴ τὸ παντουργικὸν σημαίνουν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ ἡ εὐχή τοῦτο λέγει· «Ἡ δεξιὰ σου, Κύριε, δεδόξασται ἐν ἰσχύϊ», καὶ τὸ «Αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἐπλασάν με». ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ταῖς χερσὶν ἱερουργῆσαι τὰ μυστήρια ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ τὸ τὰς χεῖρας δεθῆναι.

22. Εἶτα τὸ φαινόλιον, ἢ σάκκος ὄν,²⁷ ἢ πολυσταύριον, ἃ δὴ τὴν ἐν τῷ πάθει σημαίνουνσι χλαῖναν. καὶ τὸν σάκκον μᾶλλον ὁ σάκκος· καὶ τὸ πολυσταύριον δέ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προνοητικὴν καὶ φρουρητικὴν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ συνεκτικὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' ἣν καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὥφθη, καὶ τὰ πάθη ὑπήνεγκε.

28 Τίνας δηλοῦσιν οἱ φορέοντες τὸν ἀρχιερέα· καὶ τί τὸ κατέρχεσθαι πρὸς δυσμᾶς;

23. Καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ ὠμοφόριον, ὃ ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ἐλίπτων, τὴν τοῦ πλανηθέντος προβάτου, τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡμῶν δηλοῖ σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀνάκλησιν, οὐ δὴ καὶ τὴν μορφήν ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἐν ἣ καὶ παθὼν διὰ σταυροῦ ἡμᾶς ἔσωσεν· ὅθεν καὶ ἐξ ἐρίου καὶ ἔμπροσθέν τε καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους σταυροειδῶς τέσσαρας ἔχει σταυρούς, τὴν σταύρωσιν ἐκτυποῦντας.

f 25v

24. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν στολισάμενος ἴσταται ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς· καὶ εὐλογεῖ τοὺς ὑπηρετήσαντας. οὗτοι δὲ διάκονοι εἰσι, τοὺς ἀγγέλους τυποῦντες τοὺς²⁹ τῇ σαρκώσει ὑπηρετήσαντας. μεθ' ὧν δὴ καὶ κατὰ συζυγίαν προπορευομένων διὰ τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς εὐτα || ξίαν, ἣν μιμοῦνται οἱ ἐπὶ γῆς, μετὰ σιγῆς πρὸς δυσμᾶς προπορεύεται, αὐτοῦ³⁰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐρχομένου, δηλοῦντος τούτου ὡς ταπεινῶς τε καὶ εὐτελῶς ἦν πολιτευόμενος ὁ Σωτὴρ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρώτην παρουσίαν· καὶ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἀπέστειλεν³¹ ἀνὰ δύο, οἵσπερ καὶ συνῆσαν συνεργοῦντες ἄγγελοι. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀρχιερεὺς περὶ τὰς πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἴσταται πύλας μετὰ τῶν διακόνων, τὴν μέχρι τῆς γῆς καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁδου δηλῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σωτήριον κάθοδον, δι' ἧς τοὺς τε ζῶντας καὶ τεθνεώτας ἐρρύσατο.

27 ὦν L (ed. Fountoulis) 270, l. 180.

28 Before Τίνας add Ὅτι τὸ ὠμοφόριον ἐξ ἐρίου, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλης ὕλης δεῖ κατασκευάζεσθαι· καὶ PG. 29 τοὺς om. PG. 30 αὐτοῦ above line Z. 31 ἀπέστελλεν Z¹.

21. Then he takes the cuffs, which signify the universal operation of God, and the prayer says this: "Your right hand, O Lord, has been glorified in strength,"³⁰ and "Your hands have made me and formed me."³¹ <They represent> also His having done the sacred-service of the mysteries with His own hands, and His hands having been bound. § E 37

22. Then <he takes> the phelonion, in the form of either a sakkos or a polystaurion, which signifies the cloak in the Passion. And the sakkos signifies rather sackcloth; and the polystaurion as well, but it also signifies the provident, ever-watchful, and sustaining grace of God, through which He both appeared among us and suffered the Passion. § E 38-39

23. And finally the omophorion, which winds around the shoulders, represents the salvation and restoration of the sheep gone astray, that is to say, of us men, whose form the Savior indeed took up, in which He saved us by suffering on the cross. For this reason it is of wool and it has four crosses in the pattern of a cross, in front, in back, and on the breast, typifying the crucifixion. <82.> Whom do those accompanying the bishop represent and what does the descent to the west represent? § E 40

24. And vested in this way the bishop stands and blesses those who are ministering. These are deacons, typifying the angels who ministered at the incarnation.³² With them going forward in pairs on account of the good order in heaven which they imitate on earth, they proceed to the west in silence, with the bishop himself coming after the deacons, thereby representing that the Savior conducted himself as a humble and lowly man during His first appearance, and also that He sent out before Him the apostles two by two, to whom angels were present, working with them. With the deacons, then, the bishop stands near the western doors, representing the saving descent of Christ to earth, and even to Hades itself, by means of which He delivered both the living and the dead.³³ § E 43

³⁰ Ex 15:6.

³¹ This and the previous quotation contain the opening of the verses in contemporary usage for vesting first the right and then the left cuff; Brightman 355; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 36; Ps 118 (119):73.

³² Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

³³ Regarding this "Descent to the West," cf. E 43 and the discussion in "The Liturgy in Symeon's Commentaries" above, pp. 26-27.

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Τί σημαίνει τὸ λαμβάνειν εὐλογίαν παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου ἀρχιερέως τούς τε ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχιερεῖς, ἱερεῖς τε καὶ κληρικούς, ἐν τῷ μέλλειν τὰς ἱερὰς αὐτῶν στολὰς ἐνδύεσθαι, καὶ μετάνοιαν ποιεῖν;

25. Ὁ ἱερεὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, πρῶτον τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ προσκυνήσας τὴν ὑποταγὴν ἐπιδεικνύς, καὶ εὐλογίας ἀξιωθεὶς, ποιεῖται τὴν προσκομιδὴν· δεῖ γὰρ εὐχὴν προηγεῖσθαι τῶν θείων ἔργων, καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι συγχώρησιν· διὸ πρότερον εὐλογίαν λαβὼν, καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ ἱεράρχου εἰς τὸ ἱεουργεῖν ἀπέρχεται, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἐνδύεσθαι τὰς ἱερατικὰς αὐτῶν³² στολὰς οἱ διάκονοι, μαρτυροῦντες οὗτοι καὶ οἱ³³ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς, πάντες τοῦτο ποιοῦντες κατ' ὀφειλὴν, ὡς διὰ τῆς τοῦ πρώτου τούτου ἀρχιερέως χειρὸς οὗτοι κεχειροτόνηνται, καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς εἰσὶ τε καὶ κληρικοί, καὶ τῆς εὐλογίας μετέχουσι, καὶ τὴν ταπεινώσιν ἀποσώζουσι καὶ τὴν τάξιν· καὶ ὅτι προσέρχονται τῷ Θεῷ μετ' εὐλογίας καὶ συγχωρήσεως· καὶ μεθ'³⁴ ὑποταγῆς τε καὶ εἰρήνης τὸ τῆς διακονίας ἐκτελέσαι ἕκαστος ἔρχεται.

26. Ἀπελθὼν οὖν μετὰ τὴν συγχώρησιν καὶ εὐλογίαν τῶν ἱερέων ὁ δεύτερος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ προοίμια τῆς ἱεουργίας τελεῖ, καὶ ὡς τὰ δευτεραῖα³⁵ τοῦ πρώτου ἔχων ἐστίν, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν τὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐμφαίνει τυπικὰ αἰνίγματα καὶ πράγματα καὶ κηρύγματα, ἐν τῇ προθέσει γὰρ λέγει τὰ περὶ τῆς σφαγῆς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου Χριστοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ τὰ δῶρα προετοιμάζειν, τὰ³⁶ τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ ἅπαντα, ἕως ἤλθεν ὁ Κύριος· ὁ Βαπτιστὴς γὰρ βαπτίζων Χριστὸν³⁷ ἐδίδασκε, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κηρύττων ἦν, || καὶ αὐτῷ ὑπῆρχεν ὑπηρετῶν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁ δεύτερος τῶν ἱερέων ὑπηρετεῖ.

27. Ἀπέρχεται οὖν οὗτος, καὶ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἱερέων τὰ ἱερατικὰ περιβάλλεται ἄμφια. τρεῖς γὰρ προσκυνήσας τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐνώπιον, καὶ ἅπερ ἠῤῃξατο ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, εὐξάμενος καὶ αὐτός, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσπασάμενος τράπεζαν, δεικνύς τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν, καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἡγίασται. ἕκαστον εὐλογεῖ ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἱερέων

f 26

32 αὐτῷ PG.

33 οἱ om. PG.

34 μετ' PG.

35 δευτεραῖα Z.

36 τὰ Z¹] καὶ PG.37 Under line Z².

25. The priest in the sanctuary, having first revered the bishop to display his subordination and been deemed worthy of a blessing, does the prothesis,³⁴ for it is necessary that a prayer precede the divine actions and that permission be requested. Therefore he goes off to do the sacred-service, having first received a blessing and kissed the hand of the hierarch, as the deacons did even earlier when they were about to put on their priestly vestments. They and the priests and bishops all do so, as is suitable, bearing witness that, inasmuch as they were ordained by the hand of this first bishop, they are bishops, priests, and clerics and partake of his blessing and maintain humility and order and that they come before God with his blessing and permission, and each comes to carry out his service with subordination and peace.

26. So, going off after <receiving> the <bishop's> permission and blessing, <is> the second of the priests, since he performs the prelude of the sacred-service as the one who is the second relative to the first. Or, to put it another way, he makes manifest the obscure symbolic sayings, deeds, and proclamations of the prophets, for in the prothesis he speaks about the slaying and death of Christ from Isaiah and the others³⁵ and as he prepares the gifts, <he speaks about> everything done by the Baptist until the Lord came. For, baptizing, the Baptist was teaching about Christ and proclaiming Him, and he came before Him ministering to Him, and the second of the priests <in a similar manner> ministers here.

27. So he goes off and, with the rest of the priests, puts on his priestly vestments. For after making three reverences in the direction of the sanctuary he also prays the same things the bishop prayed, having kissed the sacred altar to show his love for God and unity <with Him> and that he was sanctified from the altar. As the bishop does, he both blesses and kisses each of the sacred vestments,

<83.> What does it mean for the bishops, priests, and clerics <who rank> below the first bishop to receive his blessing when they are about to put on the sacred vestments and to make a bow?

34 προσκομιδή occurs in L eight times: seven times meaning the preparatory rite of the Divine Liturgy and once meaning the place where the rite takes place. There are also three occurrences of the verb προσκομίζειν, meaning to perform the ritual. Since the meaning of προσκομιδή is identical to that of πρόθεσις, it is translated "prothesis"; cf. πρόθεσις in L 7.

35 Cf. Is 53:7b, 53:7c, 53:8a, 53:8b, the four verses accompanying the cutting of the eucharistic bread from the prosphora; Brightman 356-357; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 38.

ἐνδύμάτων τε καὶ ἀσπάζεται· καὶ οὕτω δὴ περιβάλλεται, δεικνύς, ὡς ἡγιασμένα εἰσὶ, καὶ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγιάζεται, καὶ ἀγιασμοῦ μεταδοτικά εἰσι πάλιν ὑπενδύμενα.

f 26

28. Περιβάλλεται οὖν πέντε ἐνδύματα, ὡς τελεσθεῖς³⁸ καὶ αὐτός, καὶ ἐνεργεῖν τὰς τελετὰς λαβὼν³⁹ χάριν καὶ, ὡς φωτιστικός γεγονώς καὶ καλούμενος, φωτίζων τοῖς μυστηρίοις, τῷ τε βαπτίσματι καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τὰς τῶν πιστῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα.⁴⁰ πέντε γὰρ αἱ τέλειαι εἰσιν αἰσθήσεις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ πέντε αἱ δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς, ἃς καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀγιάζει, βαπτίζων καὶ ἀγιάζων τὴν κοινωνίαν⁴¹ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἔστι δὲ ἃ ἐνδύεται στιχάριον, ἐπιτραχήλιον, ζώνη, ἐπιμανίκια, καὶ φαινόλιον. λευκα δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς χάριτός τε καὶ φωτεινόν· πολλάκις δὲ γε⁴² καὶ πορφύρεα κατὰ καιρὸν τῶν νηστειῶν, διὰ γε τὸ πενθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτήσαντας, καὶ διὰ τὸν σφαγέντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵν' εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἐλθόντες τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν μιμησώμεθα, ὃ καὶ μέλλομεν ἐορτάζειν.

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29. Τινὲς δὲ τῶν πρώτων πρεσβυτέρων, ἥτοι οἱ σταυροφόροι, τῶν ἀρχιμανδριτῶν τέ τινες, καὶ ἐπιγονάτιον ἔχουσι. τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ δωρεάν ἐστὶν ἀρχιερατικὴν, ὡς καὶ ὁ σταυρός. οὐδεὶς γὰρ πλὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοὺς σταυροὺς τε ἐν τῷ φαινολίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ, καὶ τὸ ἐπιγονάτιον φορεῖν δύναται. τούτοις δὲ ὁμῶς διὰ τὸ πρώτους τῶν ἄλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι, τὸ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ ἔχειν σταυρὸν μόνον, καὶ ἐπιγονάτιον ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ φορεῖν δίδοται. ἐπεὶ μετὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ κριτοῦ χειροτονίαν οἱ μὲν ἔχουσι καὶ διακονίας μεγίστης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τινος· οἱ δὲ ποιμένες ψυχῶν καὶ οἰκονόμοι καθίστανται, καὶ σημεῖα τινα φέρουσι τοῦ πρώτου ποιμένος, ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖνον καὶ⁴³ ἐκμιμῶνται.

f 26v

Περί τῶν ἐν τῇ
προκομιδῇ
τελουμένων.

30. Ὁ δευτερεύων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων ἐν τῇ || προθέσει ἀπελθὼν μετὰ διακόνου τοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ σκευὴ προευντρεπίσαντος, προσκυνήσας τρις τῷ Θεῷ, ποιεῖται εὐλογητόν· καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσφερομένων ἄρτων ἕνα

38 τελεσθεῖς Z²] τέλειος Z¹, PG. 39 ἐνεργεῖν τὰς τελετὰς λαβὼν Z²] τελεποιὼν ἔχων Z¹, PG. 40 καὶ, ὡς φωτιστικός... καὶ τὰ σώματα add in marg. Z². 41 τῇ κοινωνίᾳ in left marg. Z², om. PG. 42 γε om. PG. 43 καὶ om. PG.

and this is how he puts them on, showing that they have been sanctified and are sanctified by the cross of Christ, and having been put on they in turn impart holiness.

28. Now, he puts on five vestments, as one consecrated³⁶ § E 28 and having received the grace to perform the rites and as one who has become and is called an illuminator, illuminating the souls and bodies of the faithful by means of the mysteries, by both baptism and communion. For the complete senses of the body are five in number; five also are the powers of the soul, which the priest sanctifies, baptizing and by communion sanctifying man. The vestments he puts on are sticharion, epitrachelion, cincture, cuffs, and phelonion. These are white because of the purity and radiance of grace. But they are also often purple at the time of the fasts because of the repenting of us who have sinned, and because of the One slain for us, so that having come to a remembrance of His passion, which we are about to celebrate, we might imitate Him.

29. Some of the first priests, that is, the stavrophores, § E 36, L 20 and some archimandrites also have an epigonation. This is by the bishop's concession, as is also the cross. For no one except the bishop may wear crosses on the phelonion and on his head and wear the epigonation. Nevertheless it is granted to these to have a cross on the head only and to wear an epigonation in the sacred-service because they were ordained before the others. Since together with ordination to the priesthood, some have also been appointed judge, <they bear signs of> certain high ecclesiastical service while others become the shepherds and stewards of souls and bear signs of the first Shepherd, so that they might imitate Him.

<C. The Prothesis>

30. When the second of the priests has left to the prothesis with a deacon who has already prepared the sacred vessels, he makes three reverences to God and says, "Blessed..."³⁷ Taking one of the prosphoras, he seals it <84.> About the rites in the prothesis.

36 Or "perfected." Cf. τελέω Liddell-Scott 1772 III; Lampe 1387 11b.

37 I.e. "Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. Ἀμήν" ("Blessed is our God always, now and ever, and to the ages of the ages"), Brightman 356; Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα 38.

λαβών, σφραγίζει τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς λόγχης σταυροειδῶς, τὸ σωτήριον πάθος ἐξεικονίζων Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ μεμνημένος, ὡς εἴρηται, παθημάτων. καὶ τρεῖς ἐπιλέγει «Εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ», προδῆλως δεικνύς, ὡς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐνεργεῖ παράδοσιν.

31. Εἶτα διὰ τῆς λόγχης ἐκτυπούσης ἐκείνην, δι' ἧς ἐτρώθη ὁ Κύριος, ἀνατέμνει ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι τετραμερῶς τὴν προσφορὰν, τὰ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου ἐπιλέγων «Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη», καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, δεικνύς προκηρυττόμενον τὸ μυστήριον. ὅτε δὲ εἴποι «Ὅτι αἶρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ», ἐκ πλαγίου τὴν λόγχην εἰσαγαγών, ἐκφέρει μετὰ τῆς σφραγίδος τετραμερῇ τὸν ἄρτον· καὶ εἰς τὸν δίσκον αὐτὸν ἀποτίθησιν.

Τί σημαίνει ὁ ἐν τῇ
προθέσει ἅγιος
δίσκος, καὶ τὰ
λοιπὰ;

32. Ὁ μὲν οὖν δίσκος τυποῖ τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κυκλοτερὴς ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέχει Δεσπότην. ὁ λεγόμενος δὲ ἀστερίσκος καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ γεννήσει Χριστοῦ δηλοῖ, ὡς καὶ τὰ καλύμματα τὸ στερέωμα, τὰ σπάργανά τε καὶ τὴν σινδόνα τοῦ τάφου καὶ τὰ ἐντάφια. ἅμα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῆς σαρκώσεως καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τυποῦσιν, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο σεσάρκωται, ἵνα σφαγιασθῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρόθεσις τύπον ἐπέχει τοῦ σπηλαίου τε καὶ τῆς φάτνης. τὸ ποτήριον δὲ ἐκεῖνο τυποῖ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ αἷμα ἱεροῦργησεν ὁ Σωτὴρ.

33. Διὸ καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὰ προφητικά ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ, ἃ τὴν σφαγὴν προκαταγγέλλουσι καὶ τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ «Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ ἁμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ αἰρὼν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου», καὶ «Ἦρθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ

with the lance in the form of a cross, depicting the saving passion of Christ and remembering His sufferings, as was said. And he says three times, "In remembrance of our Lord, God, and Savior, Jesus Christ,"³⁸ clearly showing, that he carries out His tradition.

31. Then, by means of the lance, typifying the one which pierced the Lord, he cuts out the four-part seal of the prosphora,³⁹ adding the words of Isaiah, "Like a lamb he was led to slaughter,"⁴⁰ and the rest,⁴¹ showing the mystery proclaimed beforehand. When he says, "That His life is being taken up from the earth,"⁴² inserting the lance from the side, he takes out the four-sided bread⁴³ with the seal, and sets it on the diskos.

32. The diskos, then, typifies the heavens, and for that reason, it is round, and holds the Master of heaven. What is called the "asterisk" represents the stars, especially the one at the birth of Christ, just as the veils represent the firmament, the swaddling clothes, the shroud, and the burial cloths. For they typify both the incarnation⁴⁴ and the death. For He was incarnate for this reason: in order that He might be slain for us. But the prothesis also offers the figure of the cave and the manger. The chalice typifies that one in which the Savior offered His blood in the sacred-service.

33. Therefore, after saying over the bread the prophetic words which foretell the slaying and sacrifice of Jesus, "For this is the Lamb of God, who takes up the sin of the world,"⁴⁵ and "His life was taken up from the earth,"⁴⁶

<85.> What do the holy diskos and the rest of the instruments in the prothesis mean?

38 Brightman 356; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 38.

39 Lit., cuts out the prosphora in four parts in the seal.

40 Brightman 356; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 38; cf. Is 53:7b.

41 Brightman 356-357; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 38; cf. Is 53:7c, 53:8a, 53:8b.

42 Brightman 357; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 38; cf. Is 53:8c and Acts 8:33.

43 Symeon does not use the modern terminology, in which this bread is usually called the "lamb" (Greek "ἄμνος," Slavonic "agnezъ").

44 Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

45 In the present-day prothesis, this quotation (Jn 1:29) is combined with Jn 6:51 and the addition of the final καὶ σωτηρίας; cf. Brightman 357; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 39, and below in L 33.

46 The initial ἦρθη δὲ quoted here by Symeon has been replaced in contemporary usage by ὅτι αἵρεται and thus made to conform exactly to the biblical text (Is 53:8c and Acts 8:33); Brightman 357; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 39.

ζωὴ αὐτοῦ», μετὰ τὸ πάθος ἐξαναστάντος καὶ εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἀνελθόντος, καὶ ζώντος κακεῖθεν ἡμᾶς ἀγιάζοντος, τέμνει πάλιν τὸν ἄρτον κατὰ τὸ μέσον ὁ ἱερεὺς, σταυρὸν ἐνεργῶν, ἐν ὧν δεικνὺς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σταύρωσιν, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν τοῦτο εἶναι λέγει Χριστοῦ, τὴν σταύρωσιν δηλαδή. καὶ «Θύεται», φησὶ προφητικῶς, «ὁ ἁμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας».

f 27

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34. Εἶτα καὶ νύττει τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ δεξιῶν τῇ λόγχῃ, πάντα ἐκεῖνα τυπῶν⁴⁴ καὶ ποιῶν, ὅσα δὴ || εἰς τὸ σωτήριον σῶμα τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐγένετο. καὶ εὐθὺς εὐλογῶν τὸν οἶνόν τε /καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, εἰσάγει τῷ ποτηρίῳ λέγων, ἐν τῷ νύττειν μὲν «Εἰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἐνυξεν», ἐν τῷ εἰσάγειν δὲ τὸν οἶνον σὺν ὕδατι «Καὶ εὐθέως ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ» καὶ τὰ λοιπά, μαρτυρῶν ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν θυσίαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν ἐνεργεῖ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ ἃ πέπονθεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκτυποῖ, τὴν ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ ὡς παρέδωκεν ἐνεργῶν.

Διὰ τί ἔνζυμος

προσφέρεται ἄρτος;

35. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄρτος ἔνζυμός ἐστιν, ὡς ἔμψυχός τις διὰ τῆς ζύμης ὧν, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἄρτιος. μαρτυρεῖ δέ, ὡς καὶ τέλειον ἦν τὸ πρόσλημμα, ὃ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ προσελάβετο Λόγος· καὶ σὰρξ ἐγένετο, μὴ ἀλλοιωθεῖς·

since He rose after the passion, ascended to heaven, lives there and sanctifies us, the priest again cuts the bread in the center, making a cross, showing in general the crucifixion, and says that this is the sacrifice of Christ, namely the crucifixion. And he says, in the words of the prophet, "The Lamb of God is sacrificed for the life and salvation of the world."⁴⁷

34. Then he pierces the bread on the right with the lance, typifying and doing <to the bread> all these things that happened to the saving body of the Savior. And immediately blessing the wine and the water, he pours them into the chalice, saying first, as he pierces, "One of the soldiers pierced His side with a lance," then, as he pours the wine with the water, "And immediately blood and water came out," and the rest,⁴⁸ witnessing that he is carrying out the sacrifice and sacred-service of Christ, and he typifies what He suffered for us, carrying out His commemoration, as He handed down. § E 106

**<Excursus: Bread Must be Leavened and Square,
Unlike That of the Latins>**

35. And the bread is leavened, because it is in a sense living on account of the leaven, and it is truly complete, for it witnesses that the human nature which the Word of God assumed for us was fully complete.⁴⁹ He became <86.> Why is leavened bread offered?

47 What Symeon describes here seems to be midway between the shorter form in fourteenth-fifteenth century MS Vat. gr. 573 (Krasnosel'cev 97, Θύεται ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, and present-day usage, Θύεται ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ αἱρῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας, "The Lamb of God is sacrificed, the one who takes away the sin of the world, for the life and salvation of the world"), Brightman 357; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 39.

48 Brightman 357; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 39; cf. Jn 19:34-35.

49 Or "perfect." Cf. τέλειος, Lampe 1380 B2. Theological discourse has traditionally used the word "perfect" to describe Christ's humanity and divinity. However the issue for Symeon is not one of perfection in the senses of flawlessness, but of completeness. The complete (leavened) bread is an image of Christ's complete humanity because it is bread in every sense. Typically any loaf has minor flaws and is not in that sense perfect, but it is nonetheless complete bread. Symeon considers unleavened bread to be incomplete or defective bread, lacking one of its essential characteristics, leaven, and thus cannot be a fitting symbol of Christ's humanity. Consequently, τέλειος is rendered "complete" in these passages referring to Christ's humanity and the leavened bread. This applies to other occurrences of "complete" in L 35-37.

καὶ μετὰ ψυχῆς λογικῆς τε καὶ νοερᾶς ἦν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον προσλαβόμενος· καὶ ὡς Θεὸς τέλειος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειός ἐστιν, ἵνα καὶ ἐμὲ ὅλον ἀναπλάσῃ.

36. Καὶ τρία δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸ τριμερὲς τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διὰ τὴν τιμὴν τῆς Τριάδος· α') ἄλευρον μετὰ ζυμῆς, ἣτις δηλοῖ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ β') ὕδωρ ὅπερ δηλοῖ τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ γ') ἄλας, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Λόγου, ὃς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς ἔφησεν «Ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἄλας τῆς γῆς» οἱ διδάσκαλοι δηλονότι. καὶ «Ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἄλας», τὴν γνώσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ἅμα δηλῶν, ὅτι καὶ τῆς Τριάδος εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ σαρκωθείς. ἐψημένος δὲ ὁ ἄρτος ἐν πυρὶ, ὅτι Θεὸς ὢν, ὅλος ἡμῖν ἠνώθη, καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν δυνάμεως καὶ ἐνεργείας μετέδωκε· μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλος ὅλη ἡμῶν ἠνώθη τῇ ἀπαρχῇ.

Διὰ τί τετραμερὲς ὁ προσφερόμενος εἰς ἱεουργίαν ἄρτος;

37. Τετραμερὲς δὲ ὁ ἄρτος, ἀλλ' οὐ κυκλοτερὲς τε καὶ ἄζυμος, ὡς ὁ παρὰ Λατίνων θυόμενος, ὅτι καὶ τέλειος, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, διὰ τὸ τέλειον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅλον ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων τὸν Θεὸν προσλαβέσθαι· καὶ ὅτι τετραμερὲς πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Λόγος τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργός· καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τεσσάρων στοιχείων τὸ σῶμα ὃ προσελάβετο ὁ Χριστός· καὶ ὅτι τὰ πέρατα πάντα τοῦ κόσμου ἡγίασε σαρκωθείς ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια· καὶ ὅτι τούτου τὸ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ τυποῖ τὸν σταυρόν, δι' οὗ προσπαγεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀποθανών, ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν κόσμον πάντα ἀνώρθωσεν.

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Ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς κἀν τούτῳ ποιοῦσι

38. Ἀλλ' οἱ Λατῖνοί φασιν, ὡς τὸ κυκλοεῖδὲς καὶ τὸ ἀναρχον αὐτοῦ σημαίνει καὶ ἀτελεύ || τητον τῆς θεότητος. καὶ τί τοῦτο οἱ ὀρθοδόξως φρονοῦντές φαμεν; οὐ περὶ θεολογίας γὰρ νῦν ὁ λόγος. τὸ μυστήριον δὲ τῆς

flesh⁵⁰ without being altered, and having assumed human nature, He had a rational and intellectual⁵¹ soul. And He is complete God and complete man, so that He might refashion me completely.

36. And there are three <ingredients> in it, because of the three parts of the soul and in honor of the Trinity: 1) wheat flour with leaven which represents the soul, 2) water which represents baptism, and 3) salt which signifies the mind and teaching of the Word. He said to His disciples, "You are the salt of the earth,"⁵² that is, the teachers. And, "Have salt in yourselves,"⁵³ representing knowledge and love at the same time, because He who is incarnate is one of the Trinity. The bread is cooked in fire, because He, being God, was wholly united to us, and He gave us a share of His power and His energy; or rather all of Him was wholly united to our whole original state.

37. The bread is four-sided, and not round and unleavened, as that sacrificed by the Latins, because, as we said, it is fully complete since God took on a fully complete human nature, with a soul and the four elements; and because all the world is four-part and the Word itself is the creator of the world; and because the body which Christ took on is made of four elements, and because the incarnate Word sanctified all the ends of the world, both the heavenly and the earthly, and because the shape of this typifies the cross, having been crucified and died on which, He restored us and the whole world.

<87.> Why is the bread offered in the sacred-service four-part?

38. But the Latins say that the roundness signifies both the being without beginning and the being without end of the divinity. And what do we, the Orthodox, say reflecting on this? It is not the qualities of God that we are dealing

<88.> That the Latins are not doing correctly, offering unleavened, round

⁵⁰ Jn 1:14.

⁵¹ νοερός (E 32, L 86), Liddell-Scott 1177: "intellectual, in the spiritual world or order"; Lampe 915-916: "I. intellectual, intelligent, rational, belonging to the mind, understanding, with knowledge, skilful; II. spiritual, belonging to the spiritual world or order." Here the text deals with the intellect. In E 32 and L 86, Symeon uses νοερός to indicate unseen spiritual realities. When referring to spiritual realities, νοερός is a synonym of νοητός in Symeon's usage; cf. E 17 footnote 26, E 51, E 104, E 108, L 126.

⁵² Mt 5:13.

⁵³ Mk 9:50.

Λατίνοι, ἄζυμά τε
καὶ κυκλοειδῆ ταῦτα
προσφέροντες·
σεσάρκωται γὰρ ὁ
Χριστός, τὸ σῶμα
δὲ ἐκ στοιχείων.
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σαρκώσεως καὶ τοῦ πάθους κηρύττεται, καὶ τὰ τῆς
ἐνανθρωπήσεως ὥδε ἐκτυποῦνται καὶ τῆς σταυρώσεως.
ὅμως οὐδὲ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο ἀφείθη ἢ κατελείφθη, ἀλλ'
ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι ὁράται.

39. Καὶ ἀναγκαῖον /μᾶλλον ἐκεῖ, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῆς
οἰκονομίας τοῦ Σωτῆρος τέλεια ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ
σχήματι αὐτοῦ τετραμερεῖ ὄντι καθορᾶται· τὰ δὲ τῆς
θεότητος ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἄρτου σφραγίδι, ἥτις κυκλοειδὴς
ἐστὶ, καὶ μέσον ταύτης ὁ σταυρός, ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ
ἐξεικονιζόμενος, τὸν ἀναρχόν τε καὶ ἀτελεύτητον
Λόγον σεσαρκωμένον πάντων ὁμοῦ δεικνύντων, καὶ
Θεὸν ὄντα καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁφθέντα, καὶ σαρκωθέντα
ἀληθῶς καὶ παθόντα, καὶ τὸν ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὄντα, καὶ
ἐν μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου γενόμενον.

40. Διὸ οὐ χρὴ μόνον εἰκονίζειν τὰ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα μὴ δόξη κατὰ τινὰς
αἰρετίζοντας ὡς τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἠφανίσθη, καὶ
ὁλος Θεὸς γέγονε, καθὰ οἱ τὴν μίαν φασὶ δοξάζοντες
φύσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτω γέγονεν, οὐδὲ παρελάβομεν,
ἀλλὰ μένει τέλειος ἐν ἐκάστη φύσει, καὶ ἄκρως
ἐνωθείσης τῆς θεότητος τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ αὐτοῦ.

41. Ὅλον μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐθέωσε καὶ
ὁμόθεον ἀπειργάσατο τῇ ἅκρᾳ ἐνώσει· διετήρησε δὲ καὶ
τὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τέλειος ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐν τόπῳ, ὡς
καὶ τέλειος Θεός, καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ πᾶν· καὶ τὰ
τοῦ σώματος φέρει. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν
καὶ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν καθεωράθη⁴⁵ τε καὶ ἐψηλαφήθη,
καὶ κεκλεισμένων εἰσῆλθε τῶν θυρῶν. ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ
ἀφθαρτος ἦν, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔσωζε; καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς
ἄκτιστός ἐστι, καὶ κτιστός; καὶ ἐκ δύο τῶν φύσεων, εἰ
καὶ εἰς τῇ ὑποστάσει τελεῖ; λοιπὸν ἔχου τῶν τῆς
ὀρθοδοξίας, καὶ μὴ νεκρὰ καὶ ἄψυχα πρόσφερε, μηδὲ

45 καθωράθη Z¹.

with now. The mystery of the incarnation⁵⁴ and the passion are being proclaimed here, as well as matters regarding <His> becoming human⁵⁵ and the crucifixion, which are being typified. Still the <divine> form was neither set aside nor left behind; rather, it is seen in the seal.

<bread>; for Christ has been incarnated; His body being of elements.

39. And it is necessary, rather, that what concerns the fulfillment of the Savior's economy <of salvation> be contemplated in the bread in its four-part form, while what concerns His divinity is contemplated in the seal of the bread, which is round, and in the middle of <the seal> the cross or the Savior Himself is depicted, all showing together that the incarnate Word is without beginning and without end, that He is God, has appeared among us, was truly incarnate and suffered, and that, being God in substance, he became a man in substance.

40. Therefore it is necessary not only to depict what concerns His divinity, but also what concerns His humanity, so that it not seem, as some of the heretics maintain, that what was related to His humanity disappeared and that He was wholly God, as those holding to one nature say. But it did not occur in this way, nor have we received <any such teaching>, but He remains complete⁵⁶ in each nature, His divinity having been completely united to His humanity.

41. For He deified His whole humanity, and made it equally God by the ultimate union. He maintained, however, His own nature, and is complete man, just as He is also complete⁵⁷ God, both in a given place and everywhere and above all things, and yet He bears the qualities of the body. For, because of this, after His rising and <according to> His incorruption, He was both seen and touched, and He entered closed doors. Do you see that He was incorruptible and preserved His own qualities? That He is uncreated and created? And that He is of two natures, even if He is perfectly one in His hypostasis? Therefore,

54 Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

55 Cf. E 8 footnote 15.

56 Or "perfect," τέλειος, cf. L 35 footnote 49.

57 Ibid.

ἐγκαίνιζε τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, μηδὲ τὸν νόμον εἰσαγε, μηδ' ⁴⁶ ἐν ἁζύμοις ἐόρταζε.

Κατὰ Λατίνων
ἁζυμα
προσφερόντων.

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42. Ἀλλ' ὁ Παῦλος οὕτω λέγει, φησὶ Λατίνος, τὸ δι' ἁζύμων προσφέρειν. «Ὡστε ἐορτάζωμεν», φησὶ, «μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁζύμοις εἰλικρινείας καὶ ἀληθείας». βαβαὶ τῆς ἀνοησίας! οἱ ὀρθοδοξοῦντές φαμεν. οὕτω νοεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοκλήρυκος; || τοῦτο φησὶν οὗτος, ἄνθρωπε, ἀνατρέπων τὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ῥίζαν τε καὶ αἰτίαν.

43. Διὸ «μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ», φησὶ, «κακίας καὶ πονηρίας». καὶ καλῶς ὄντως λέγει. καὶ σὺ ταύτην τὴν ζύμην ἀπόρριψον τὴν πορνείαν τοῦ πορνεύσαντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην ἀκαθαρσίαν· ὅτι περὶ ταύτης ὁ σκοπὸς ἅπας, καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ. Ἐξάρατε, φησὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον. «οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ;» οὕτω γὰρ ἡ κακία ὡς νόσος λυμαντικὴ ἀπὸ τινος ἀρξαμένη, καὶ εἰς τοὺς λοιποὺς πρόεισι.

44. Διὸ καί, Ἐξάρατε, φησὶ «τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ᾗτε νέον φύραμα» ἐν Χριστῷ πεφυραμένοι, οἷον νέοι τε καὶ ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀναμάρτητοι. ἐπεὶ καὶ νέος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ ὁ Χριστός. καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ὑμεῖς ἐστε «ἁζυμοί», τουτέστιν ἁμαρτίας ἀμέτοχοι, τῷ βαπτίσματι καὶ τῷ μύρῳ. «Καὶ γὰρ τὸ Πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός», διαβιβάσας ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τῆς ἁμαρτίας, αὕτη ἡ τοῦ Παύλου ἔννοιά τε καὶ φωνή. καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἀποτρέπου καὶ δίωκε τὴν ζύμην τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ ὅλος ἔσο ταύτης ἀμέτοχος.

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Τί τὸ «Ὡμοιώθη ἡ
βασιλεία τῶν
οὐρανῶν ζύμη»;

45. /Μὴ ἀποσείου δὲ τὴν ζύμην τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, ἡ ὁμοιώθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, διὰ τὸ συνάγειν τε καὶ ἐνοῦν ἐαυτὴ καὶ ἀλλοιοῦν ἐν ἐαυτῇ τοὺς τῷ θεῷ κηρύγματι πειθομένους. ἦν δὴ καὶ «γυνή», ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ ὑπερουρανίου νυμφίου, «ἐκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα

follow Orthodoxy, and do not offer either dead or inanimate things; do not renew the customs of the Jews, or introduce Jewish law, or celebrate with unleavened bread.

42. But, the Latin claims, Paul says to offer unleavened bread. He says, "Let us, therefore, celebrate the festival, not with the old leaven..., but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."⁵⁸ Oh, what stupidity! So we who live by Orthodoxy say. Is this what you believe the herald of God <means>? He says this, O man, to overturn the root and cause of sin.

43. Therefore he says, "not in the old leaven of malice and fornication."⁵⁹ And, in fact, he speaks truly. Renounce this leaven, the fornication of the one who had fornicated in Corinth, and every other impurity, because the whole purpose <of this passage> is about this impurity, and his reasoning is about that fornicator, saying, "Cast out such a person. Do you not know that a little leaven leavens all the dough?"⁶⁰ For thus malice, like a ruinous disease, having started from one, infects the rest.

44. Therefore he says, "Cast out the old leaven, so that you be new dough,"⁶¹ mixed in Christ, as new and sinless as Christ is, for Christ is also the new Adam. And through Him, you are "unleavened bread," that is, having no share in sin by baptism and chrism. "For Christ our Pascha"⁶² was also sacrificed for us,"⁶³ transporting us out of the Egypt of sin. This is the meaning and statement of Paul. And, in accordance with this, overturn and drive out the leaven of sin, and have no share in this at all.

45. But do not shake off the leaven of incorruption, to which the kingdom of heaven is likened, because it brings together, and unites to itself and changes in itself those obeying the divine proclamation. Indeed, "a woman," that is, the Church of the supercelestial Bridegroom, "mixed it

<89.> Against the Latins who offer unleavened bread.

<90.> What is the meaning of "The kingdom of heaven is like leaven"?

58 1 Cor 5:8.

59 Ibid.

60 1 Cor 5:6; cf. Gal 5:9.

61 1 Cor 5:7.

62 Since Symeon uses the word Πάσχα for both Jewish Passover and Christian Easter, the English transcription, "Pascha," is used here for both celebrations; Liddell-Scott 1346; Lampe 1046-1049.

63 1 Cor 5:7.

τρία», τὰς τῶν σωζομένων τρεῖς τάξεις, δούλων καὶ μισθίων, καὶ υἱῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐν γάμῳ σωφρονούντων τε καὶ παρθένων, «ἕως οὗ ἐζυμώθη ὅλον» ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλείας ἀξιωθέν, ἢ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ νόμου δικαίους, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ νόμον καὶ ἐν τῇ χάριτι συναθροίσασα, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τετέλεκεν.

46. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἡ θεία ὄντως καὶ καθαρωτάτη ζύμη, ὃ καὶ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὧν αἰώνιος, τοὺς τε πρὸ νόμου καὶ τοὺς ἐν νόμῳ σαρκωθεῖς, καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐλθὼν ἔσωσε, τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφαρπάσας, καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν ἤνωσεν. ὃς κατ' ἄλλον πάλιν σκοπὸν ὡς ζύμη καθαρὰ τε καὶ ζῶσα κρύπτεται· οἶον τῇ λογικῇ κτίσει αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν || ἀναλόγως τρισσῶς διαιρουμένη, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις δηλαδή, καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ζῶσιν ἡμῖν, ἕως οὗ ἐζυμώθη ὅλον, ἐξαναστὰν ὅλον δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ᾧ παν γεγονός, μετασχούσης αὐτοῦ τῆς δόξης, τῆς τε τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως.

47. Ἐσο οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐζυμωμένος ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ τῆς ζύμης σπούδαζε εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀζύμων ἄρτων σπεῦδε μετέχειν τῶν νομικῶν· ὅτι ὁ νόμος σκιά ἐστὶ καὶ εἰκὼν ἄψυχος καὶ οὐ ζῶσα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡς νεκροὺς καὶ σκιῶδεις τοὺς ἀζύμους προεῖχεν ἄρτους, οἱ καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐλέγοντο ἄρτοι, ἀλλ' ἄζυμοι, τὸ «ἄρτοι» κατὰ μετοχὴν καὶ κλήσιν ἔχοντες μόνην. καὶ κοινωνὸς ἔσο τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ θυσίας, ἥς ἄρτος οὐκ ἄζυμος καὶ οἶνος, προοίμια τῆς τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ καινῆς θυσίας, τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἀληθοῦς Μελχισεδέκ καὶ ἀρχιερέως μόνου

f 28v

Διατί ἐν τῷ νόμῳ
μὲν ἄζυμοι ἄρτοι,
ἐν δὲ τῇ χάριτι
ἐνζυμοί;

with⁶⁴ three measures of wheat flour," that is, the three orders of the saved — the slaves, the salaried workers and the sons, both those who are moderate in marriage and also virgins — "until it was entirely leavened"⁶⁵ <and> made worthy in the Resurrection of God's kingdom, which gathered together in grace the just <who lived> prior to the law and those <who live> in accordance with the law, which the grace of the Gospel has completed.

46. For the Savior Himself, the truly divine and most pure leaven, the bread of life,⁶⁶ who is also eternal king, by being incarnate and coming into the world, saved both those <who lived> before the law and those <who live> in the law, having snatched away their bonds; and He united them to those who believe in Him. In yet another perspective, He is mixed as a pure and living leaven, allotted proportionally in three to His rational creation in its present state, that is to say, to the angels, to the departed saints, and to us the living who believe in Him, until the whole is completely leavened, all having risen through Him and all having become one, when both the nature of His angels and our own nature partake of His glory

47. So be leavened in the Lord and be eager to be part of the leaven of the kingdom of heaven, and do not seek to share in the Jewish law's unleavened bread, because the law is a shadow, a lifeless image⁶⁷ and not living. And for this reason <Paul> regarded the unleavened loaves as dead and shadowy, and they are not called simply "bread," but "unleavened bread," having only the name "bread" by participation. And be a partner in the great sacrifice of Melchizedek, a sacrifice of bread — not unleavened bread — and wine, a prelude to the new sacrifice of Melchizedek, of the true and eternal Melchizedek and only high priest⁶⁸ Jesus Christ, about whom it is written,

<91.> Why is there unleavened bread in the law and leavened bread in grace?⁶⁹

64 Lit. "hid (in it)"; ἔκρυπεν < κρύπτω, Liddell-Scott 1000.

65 Mt 13:33 or Lk 13:21.

66 Jn 6:35, 48.

67 Cf. Heb 10:1.

68 A rare instance when the term ἀρχιερεὺς does not mean "bishop" (also L 101). Symeon like most Byzantine liturgical texts customarily uses the term ἀρχιερεὺς to indicate Christian bishops, literally "archpriest" or "high priest"; cf. Liddell-Scott 252; Lampe 238–239.

69 Cf. Rom 5:12–17.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, περὶ οὗ γέγραπται «Σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ».

48. Εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, ἴσως μετὰ τῶν ἀζύμων καὶ ἄμνον ἄλογον θύσεις, καὶ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους μεθέξεις, ἢ καὶ συνοεορτάσεις αὐτοῖς· καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα ὡς ξένια λήψῃ, ὃ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πατράσι ποιεῖν ἀπηγόρευται· ἢ καὶ περιτμηθήσῃ καὶ σαββατίσεις· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀκόλουθον· ἐπεὶ καὶ οὐδὲν βδελυκτόν σοι· κοινωνεῖς γὰρ καὶ τραπέζης πολλάκις τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· καὶ μικρά τις διαφορὰ τούτων πρὸς σὲ τῶν θεοκτόνων καὶ ἀθέων.

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49. Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν κοινὸν πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ «Τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινὰ» βοᾷ Παῦλος· καὶ ὡς ἀντὶ περιτομῆς βάπτισμα ἡμῖν ἐστι, καὶ ἀντὶ θυσίας ἀλόγου ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀντὶ ἀζύμων ἄρτων ὁ ἐνζυμος τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν «ὁ ἄρτος /ὁ ζῶν, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς» ἀντὶ τοῦ μάννα ἐκείνου. «ὃν ὁ φαγὼν οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει», ὡς ἔφησεν.

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50. Εἰ δὲ καὶ πάλιν φιλονεικεῖς, ὡς ἔθος σοι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦτο καταναγκάζεις, καὶ τὸ προσαχθὲν τότε ἄζυμον εἶναι λέγεις, ὡς τοῦ Πάσχα δι' ἀζύμων τελουμένου τοῦ νομικοῦ, εἰσὶ μὲν πλεῖστοι καὶ ἀληθέστατοι || λόγοι μεγίστων καὶ θείων ἀνδρῶν, τὸ θρασὺ σου καὶ ἄγνωστον καταράσσοντες· καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐπῆρθη ἔτι ἡ ζύμη, ὅτε τὰ μυστήρια παρέδωκεν ὁ Σωτὴρ.

51. Καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τούτου μάρτυς, οὗ τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι διδάσκον τῶν ἀζύμων, ὅτε ἑαυτὸν ἱεροῦργησεν ὁ Χριστός· ἀλλὰ πρὸ τῶν ἀζύμων ἦν. «Πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς», φησί, «τοῦ Πάσχα εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς» καὶ τὴν θυσίαν παρέδωκεν, ὅτε ἐποίησε τὸ⁴⁷ δεῖπνον. τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ νιπτῆρος ἐτέλεσε. καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Πάσχα ταῦτα τοῦ ἰουδαϊκοῦ ἦν. ὅρα δὲ τί φησι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πάθους· «Καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ Πάσχα». καὶ ἐν τῇ

"You are a priest forever, according to the order of Melchizedek."⁷⁰

48. If you are unwilling, then perhaps along with unleavened bread you will sacrifice an irrational lamb, and will partake according to Jewish custom, or even celebrate with them; and you will receive the unleavened bread as a friendly gift from foreigners, which my fathers were forbidden to do, or you will even be circumcised and keep the Jewish sabbath, for that follows, since nothing is abominable to you. For you often partake of the table among the Jews, and there is little difference between you and these God-slayers and atheists.

49. We, on the other hand, have nothing in common with them. "The old has passed away; behold, everything has become new,"⁷¹ cries out Paul. We have baptism instead of circumcision, the lamb of God instead of the sacrifice of an irrational animal, and instead of unleavened bread the leavened bread of the kingdom of Christ, who is "the living bread, come down from heaven" in place of the manna. "The one eating it will not die," as He said.⁷²

50. And if you still dispute, as is your custom, and continue vigorously to argue this and say that the offering then was unleavened, because the Pascha of the Jewish law was performed by means of unleavened bread, there are many perfectly truthful accounts of greater and divine men shattering your arrogance and ignorance that the Savior did not take leavened bread when He handed on the mysteries.

51. And the Gospel witnesses to this, teaching that it was not the day <of the feast> of the unleavened bread when Christ offered himself in the sacred-service, but it was before <the feast of> the unleavened bread. It says, "Before the feast of the Pascha, Jesus knowing..."⁷³ and He handed on the sacrifice when He had the supper. And it was then when He also completed the washing <of the apostles' feet>. And these things occurred before the Jewish Pascha. See what it says on the day of the passion. "And they did not go into the praetorium, so that they might not be con-

⁷⁰ Heb 5:6, Ps 109 (110):4, Gen 14:18.

⁷¹ 2 Cor 5:17.

⁷² Cf. Jn 6:58.

⁷³ Jn 13:1.

σταυρώσει πάλιν «Ἐπεὶ παρασκευῇ ἦν», φησὶν, «ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη τοῦ σαββάτου».

52. Καὶ ἀφ' ὧν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον αὐθις λέγει «Ἐλαβεν ἄρτον», καὶ οὐκ ἄζυμον προστίθησι. καὶ ὁ δὲ ἔφη ὁ Κύριος, «Ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν», ἀριδηλότατα διδάσκει· οὐ γὰρ τοῦ ἰουδαϊκοῦ ἐπεθύμει, ὁ πολλάκις ἦν τετελεκώς. καὶ τὴν σκιὰν ἦλθε παύσων.

53. Λοιπὸν εἶπερ καὶ τὸ νομικὸν ἐκτετέλεκεν, ἐποίησε πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ παρέδωκε τὸ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν παραδοῦναι πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν, ἵνα μένη μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἵνα ἀληθὲς ἡ ὅπερ ἔφησεν, «Ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει, καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ». διὸ καὶ οὐ τὰ νομικὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ ἐκείνῳ ἦν ἐκπληρῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ νικητῆρα ἐτέλεσε, καὶ ἀνακείμενος ἦν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπτα μόνον κρέα ἔχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρυβλίον ἐν ᾧ ἔβαψεν ὁ Ἰούδας. ὥστε οὔτε καιρὸς ἦν τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Πάσχα, καὶ οὐ τὸ ἰουδαϊκὸν τότε μόνον ἐτέλεσεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα τὸ οἰκεῖον, περὶ οὗ καὶ ἔλεγε, «Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν», καὶ «ἡ σὰρξ μου ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ βρώσις, καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ πόσις».

54. Καὶ ὅτι δὲ τὰ παλαιὰ πέπνυται, αὐτὸς πάλιν μαρτυρεῖ λέγων «Ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου». ἀληθὲς ἄρα, ὅτι οὐ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Πάσχα τὸ ἐξ ἀλόγου ἀμνοῦ καὶ αἵματος ζώου δέδωκε καὶ ἡγάπα τότε, ἀλλὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν || παραδοῦναι τοῖς μαθηταῖς. καὶ παρέδωκε, ὅπερ τότε ἅπαξ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε, καὶ εἰς αἰῶνας ἐνετείλατο γίνεσθαι.

taminated, but might eat the Pascha."⁷⁴ And again at the crucifixion it says, "Since it was the day of preparation"⁷⁵..., for that day of the sabbath was a great day."⁷⁶

52. And about this the Gospel again says, "He took bread."⁷⁷ And it does not add "unleavened bread." Also what the Lord said: "I have earnestly desired to eat this Pascha with you before I suffer,"⁷⁸ teaches this quite clearly. For He was not desiring to partake of the Jewish Pascha, which He had often performed. But He came putting an end to the shadow.

53. Besides, even if He performed the Pascha of the Jewish law, He had done it earlier, and later He handed on His own Pascha. And He desired to pass this on before He suffered, so that He would remain with us, so that it would truly be as He said: "The one who eats my flesh and who drinks my blood... remains in me, and I remain in him."⁷⁹ Therefore He was not fulfilling all the Jewish law's requirements at that supper, but He finished the washing <of the apostles' feet> and was reclining; He was having not only roasted meat, but also a dish in which Judas dipped. Because it was not yet the time for the Pascha of the Jews, He did not perform only the Jewish Pascha then, but especially His own, about which He also said, "Do this in my memory,"⁸⁰ and "My flesh is truly food, and my blood is truly drink."⁸¹

54. And that the old usage has ceased, He witnesses once again, saying, "The law and the prophets until John."⁸² So, it is true that He did not give and was not content then with the Pascha of the Jews, that of an unreasoning lamb and of animal blood, but He desired to hand on to His disciples His own Pascha, and He handed on to them the very thing which He did then once, and commanded to be done forever.

⁷⁴ Jn 18:28.

⁷⁵ Or "Friday."

⁷⁶ Jn 18:31.

⁷⁷ 1 Cor 11:23; cf. Mt 26:26; Mk 14:22; and Lk 22:19.

⁷⁸ Lk 22:15.

⁷⁹ Jn 6:54-56.

⁸⁰ Lk 22:19 and 1 Cor 11:24.

⁸¹ Jn 6:55.

⁸² Mt 11:13.

55. Εἰ καὶ ταῦτα οὖν πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐκ πατέρων <οὐκ>⁴⁸ ἀποσοβεῖ σου τὴν ἄνοιαν, ὅμως ἔδει, εἶγε καὶ ἄζυμον ἦν τὸ προσαχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος τότε, διὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν, τελεώτερον ἐνεργεῖν σε, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν νόμον ποιεῖν παρελάβομεν, καὶ περισσεύειν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἡμῶν «πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων».

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56. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλεύθεροι ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Χριστὸς γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου, φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος· καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ τοῦ νόμου. ἐὰν γὰρ /τὰ τοῦ νόμου πάλιν τελῶμεν, «Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει», πάλιν ὁ Παῦλός φησι. Χριστὸς γὰρ πάντα πληρώσας ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἡμᾶς ἠλευθέρωσεν. ἐπεὶ καὶ περιετμήθη μὲν ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ περιτεμνόμεθα· βαπτίζομεθα δὲ ἐν Πνεύματι· καὶ οὐ κρέα θυόμενα καὶ αἷμα ἐσθίομεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ.

57. Δῆλον οὖν μᾶλλον, ὅτι ἡ θυσία αὐτοῦ τοῦ φρικτοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ποτηρίου, καὶ οὐ τὸ τοῦ νόμου Πάσχα ἦν ἡ παράδοσις, ὅτι φησί· «Τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι», καὶ «Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης». ὥς καὶ πρὸ τούτου τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα διδούς ἡμῖν εἰς τροφήν, ἔλεγε, «Λάβετε, φάγετε· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου», ὅπερ οὐδὲ δύνη μιμεῖσθαι σύ. τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄζυμου κατεκρατήθη. καὶ οὐδὲ τέμνειν δύνη, καὶ παρέχειν τὸ σῶμα, ὥσπερ

⁴⁸ Om. PG, Z, and L (ed. Fountoulis) 296.

55. Even if, then, all these things and what the fathers say do <not> ward off your folly,⁸³ and even if what was offered then by the Savior was unleavened, these contemporary times would require you to do something more complete, just as indeed we received <the teaching> that we should do the rest above and beyond the law, and that our justice should greatly "exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees."⁸⁴

56. But also we are free from the law by the blood of Jesus Christ. For, Paul says, Christ freed us from the curse of the law,⁸⁵ and we have no part in the servitude of the law. For if we again perform the works of the law, Paul says again, "Christ will be of no use to us."⁸⁶ For Christ, having fulfilled all things for us,⁸⁷ set us free. For He was circumcised, but we are not circumcised; we are baptized in the Spirit. And we do not eat meat and blood that have been sacrificed, but His flesh and blood.

57. So it is quite clear that His sacrifice of the awe-inspiring bread and chalice was the tradition handed down and not the Pascha of the Jewish law, because He says, "This is the new covenant in my blood,"⁸⁸ and "This is my blood, the blood of the new covenant."⁸⁹ Just as earlier, giving us His flesh for food, He said, "Take, eat; this is my body,"⁹⁰ which you cannot imitate. You have been won over to such an extent by the unleavened bread. And you are unable to cut and share the body, just as <you cannot

83 Following the line of Symeon's argumentation here, we make the verb ἀποσοβεί negative because the affirmative does not fit the sense of what Symeon is writing. In the texts consulted, the verb is affirmative. We note that L (ed. Fountoulis) also translates it negative: Ἀλλ' ἔστω ἂν ὅλα αὐτὰ ποὺ μαρτυροῦνται ἀπὸ τοὺς Πατέρες δὲν πείθουν τὴν ἀνοία σου... ("But even if all these [things] that are witnessed by the Fathers do *not* correct your folly...": emphasis added) 297, sect. 22, l. 6–8). My gratitude to Fr. Robert Taft and to Fr. Stelyios Muksuris for consulting with me on the meaning of this passage, and Fr. Muksuris for his translation of the modern Greek.

84 Mt 5:20.

85 Cf. Gal 3:13.

86 Gal 5:2.

87 Cf. Lk 24:44.

88 Cf. 1 Cor 11:25.

89 Mk 14:24.

90 CHR: Brightman 385; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 63. BAS: Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 88; Mt 26:26, Mk 14:22, Lk 22:19, 1 Cor 11:24.

οὐδὲ τὸ αἷμα· καίτοι γε τούτου λέγοντος «Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου». ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸ σὺ ἐνεργεῖς. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς προσερχομένοις σοι κοινωνεῖν οὐ μεταδίδως τοῦ ποτηρίου· τοσοῦτον πάντα κεκαινοτόμηκας.

58. Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐν Χριστῷ ἱερουργοῦμεν κατ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον κλῶμεν, ὡς ἐκλασεν αὐτός· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσθίομεν, ὡς ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς μεταδίδομεν· καὶ τέλειον ἄρτον προσάγομεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος αὐτός, καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς νομικῆς θυσίας ἀναίρεσιν, ἐπεὶ πέπνυται φανείσης τῆς ἀληθείας.

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59. Καὶ πιστεύομεν ὡς καὶ ἐνζυμον τέλειον ἄρτον ἱερούργησεν ὁ Σωτὴρ εἰς τὸ Πάσχα || ὁ ἐπεθύμησεν, εἶγε καὶ τὸ νομικὸν εἰργάσατο πρότερον. ἐπεὶ ἀνακείμενος ὢν, καὶ τρυβλίον ἔχων ἐν ᾧ ἔβασεν ὁ Ἰούδας, οὐ τὸ νομικὸν τότε ἐνεργεῖν Πάσχα φαίνεται· πάντα γὰρ ἐκεῖ ὅπτα πυρὶ φησὶν εἶναι ὁ νόμος, καὶ μὴ ἐν ὕδατι ἐσθόμενα. εἰκὸς οὖν ἐν ἄλλῳ καιρῷ τὸ νομικὸν τελέσαι, καὶ τότε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ Πάσχα, οὐπερ καὶ ἐπεθύμησε.

60. Καὶ τοῦτο λέγω πολλάκις, ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτου τοῦ ζῶντος Πάσχα πάντοτε γεύεσθαι ἐλέει αὐτοῦ νῦν τε καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι· καὶ τοῦτο εὐχομαι ἐμοὶ διαπαντός εἶναι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δὲ ἱερουργοῦντες ποτήριον ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, τῷ ἑαυτὸν ἡμῖν δεδωκότι, καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πίνειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐκελεύσθημεν, παρέχομεν ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν γινόμενοι ὥσπερ ἠύξατο, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ μετὰ Πατρὸς τε καὶ Πνεύματος ἐν ὑπάρχοντες, ὥσπερ ἔφη. ἀλλ' ἱκανὰ ταῦτα· καὶ πλέον ἢ προεθέμεθα ἐν ἐπιτομῇ λέγειν, εἵπομεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου βιασθέντες.

share> the blood, even though He says this, "Drink of this everyone; this is my blood."⁹¹ But you do not do even this. For you do not share the chalice with those coming forward to receive communion; you have innovated to such an extent.

58. But we do the sacred-service in Christ according to Him. We break the bread, as He broke it; and we eat it, as He said, and distribute it to the faithful, and we offer complete⁹² bread since He was a complete man, even to the extent of abrogating the sacrifice of the law, since it ended when the truth appeared.

59. And we believe that the Savior did the sacred-service using complete leavened bread for the Pascha which He desired to do, even if He had carried out the Pascha of the law earlier. Since He was reclining and had a dish in which Judas dipped <a piece of bread>, it does not appear that he was performing the Pascha of the law at that time. For the law says that everything there is to be roasted on a fire, and not boiled in water.⁹³ So, it is likely that He carried out the Pascha of the law at another time, and at that time He carried out His own Pascha, which He desired.

60. And I often say this: I myself desire always in Him to taste of this living Pascha through His mercy now and also in the age to come, and I pray for this to come to pass always for me and for all the brothers. And consecrating the sacred chalice in the sacred-service in Christ Himself, our God, the One who has offered Himself for us, we present it in love to all the brothers to drink of it, as we were commanded. We become one as He prayed, and we are one with Him⁹⁴ together with the Father and the Spirit, as He said. But enough about this; we have said more than we set out to say in brief, being forced to do so by the subject.

91 CHR: Brightman 386; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 63. BAS: Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 88; Mt 26:27-28, Mk 14:24, Lk 22:20, 1 Cor 11:25.

92 Cf. L 35 footnote 49 and other occurrences of "complete" in this and the following section.

93 Ex 12:8-9.

94 Jn 17:21-23.

61. Κληρικός· Αναγκαῖα εἰρῆσθαι, δέσποτα, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ χάρις ὑπὲρ τούτων· ἀσφαλίζουσι γὰρ ἡμᾶς, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ τε καὶ ἀληθοῦς πολλὴν παρέχουσι τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ βεβαίωσιν.

62. Ἀρχιερεὺς· Πλείστοι, ἀδελφέ, θεῖοι ὄντως καὶ ὕψηλοι τὴν διάνοιαν εἰρήκασι περὶ τούτων· καὶ ὡς παρέλκον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τολμηρὸν τὸ λέγειν κάμει περὶ τούτων ταπεινὸν ὄντα. πλὴν ἡ ἀγάπη βιάζεται. δέχεσθε οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν παρ' ἡμῶν. τὰ τελεώτερα δὲ παρὰ τῶν μεγάλων ἐπιζητοῦντες μανθάνετε, ὅτι πᾶς «ὁ ζητῶν εὕρήσει» φησί.

Πάλιν⁴⁹ περὶ τῶν ἐν
τῇ προσκομιδῇ
τελουμένων.
PG 276

63. Οὕτως ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἐνζυμον ἐκείνον ἄρτον ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἄρτου ἐξαγαγών, δηλῶν καὶ τούτῳ ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἡμέτερας φύσεως καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας σεσάρ/κωται ὁ Σωτὴρ, καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς γυναικὸς εὐλογημένης καὶ ἀγίας τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Κόρης, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ἐκπληρώσας ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ ὕδατι κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν, καὶ ἑτέρας τῷ Θεῷ προσφέρει μερίδας. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα δηλοῖ· «Εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν» γάρ φησι, «λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἐνυξε, || καὶ εὐθέως ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ». τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐστι τοῦ Σωτῆρος τοῦ εἰρηκότος «Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν⁵⁰ ἐκχυνόμενον».

f 30v

Κατὰ Ἀρμενίων.⁵¹

64. Αἷμα δὲ ἐξεχύθη σὺν ὕδατι, ὡς τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον λέγει, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς ταύτης πίνομεν. καὶ ὁ Χρυσορρήμων πολλάκις τὸ περὶ τούτου φησὶν, ὃν

49 Πάλιν om. PG.

50 ἡμῶν PG.

51 Κατὰ Ἀρμενίων] om. Z, possibly erased.

<...Back to the Prothesis>

61. Cleric: You have said what is necessary, Master, and thanks be to God for these things, for they secure us and provide much insight and confirmation concerning what is right and true.

62. Bishop: Truly, most divine and lofty men have set out an understanding of these things, brother, and I think it redundant and rash for me, being lowly, to speak of these things. Love, however, compels. So, you yourselves accept what we have said according to our ability. But searching further, learn more complete <interpretations> from the great ones, because, it is said, "All who seek find."⁹⁵

63. Thus the priest cuts this leavened bread out of the middle, representing in this also that the Savior was incarnated of our nature, not of another essence, and from one woman, the blessed, holy, and ever-virgin maiden. Having filled the chalice with wine and water according to the tradition, he offers other particles to God. So because it is of wine and water, the act represents what scripture says, for "One of the soldiers pierced His side with a lance, and immediately there came forth blood and water."⁹⁶ So this chalice is also from that side of the Savior who said, "This is my blood, which is being poured out for you."⁹⁷

<92.> Further about the rites in the prothesis.

§ E 106; L 34

<Excursus: The Chalice Must be Mixed, Not like That of the Armenians>

64. Blood poured forth with water,⁹⁸ as the Gospel says, and from this side we drink. And Chrysostom⁹⁹ — whom the Armenians reject — often speaks about this¹⁰⁰ and all

<93.> Against the Armenians.

95 Mt 7:8 and Lk 11:9.

96 Beginning of the verse recited when mixing water and wine in the chalice; Brightman 357; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 39; Jn 19:34.

97 Cf. Lk 22:20.

98 Jn 19:34.

99 Symeon here refers to St. John Chrysostom as Χρυσορρήμων (Chrysorrêmôn, "Golden sayings"), an alternate title, in place of the more common Χρυσόστομος (Chrysostomos, "Golden mouth") Lampe 1535.

100 Chrysostom, *Catechèses* 3, 16–18 (SC 50, 160–62); Chrysostom, *Hom. in Ioh.* 85, 3 (PG 59:463); Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matth.* 88, 2 (PG 58:776); Chrysostom, *Hom. in Psa.* 46, 2 (PG 55:210); "Laus Maximi et quales ducendae sint uxores" (PG 51:229); "Rem esse periculi plenam cum iis qui dicunt..." (PG 50:654). There is no explicit mention of the mixed chalice in Chrysostom's extant works.

Ἀρμένιοι διαβάλλουσι· καὶ οἱ καθόλου τῶν πατέρων τοῦτό φασι. καὶ ὅλον ἐκεῖνο τὸ ρεῦσαν κοινωνία ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἐπεὶ ἐκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ ἐξέβλυσε σῶματος. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἄλλου, εἰ καὶ τὸ μὲν αἷμα, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ λέγεται καὶ ἀληθῶς ταῦτα, ὡς μεμαρτύρηται, αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ εἰσὶν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔδει τὰς δύο πηγὰς φανῆναι, δι' ὧν ἀναγεννώμεθα καὶ ζῶμεν ἐν Πνεύματι, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς αὐταὶ ἡμῖν ἐπήγασαν.

65. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἰεὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῷ φρικτῷ, ὡς καὶ τὸν οἶνον, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν τοῦ μυστηρίου παράστασιν.

66. Καὶ μήτε ὕδωρ μόνον, ὡς ἡ τῶν Ὑδροπαραστατῶν δυσσεβῆς λέγει αἵρεσις, τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων παράδοσιν ἀνατρέπουσα, ὡς καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν⁵² ἀθεΐα τε καὶ δυσσέβεια, ὡς κακὸν ἀποτρεπομένη τὸν οἶνον, καὶ οὐ τὴν μέθην, ὑποβολὴ τοῦ κινούντος αὐτοὺς πονηροτάτου δαίμονος, καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐρεθίζοντος εἰς ἀθέτησιν μὲν δὴθεν τῆς ἱερωτάτης θυσίας, αἰσχύνην δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποτροπὴν.

67. Μήτε οἶνον μόνον κατὰ τοὺς αἰρετικούς Ἀρμενίους, βουλομένους δὴθεν ἄλλην ἀνατρέπειν αἵρεσιν, καὶ χεῖρονι περιπίπτοντας, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τοῦτο τοῦτοι συνέβη παρατραπεῖσι τῆς ἀληθείας. Νεστορίῳ γὰρ δὴθεν οὗτοι ἀνθίστασθαι θέλοντες, διαίρεσιν δοξάζοντι ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τὸν Λόγον, ἰδίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον δογματίζουν, εἰς τὸ μίαν λέγειν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ φύσιν ἦλθον, τὴν οἰκονομίαν αὐτοῦ ἀθετοῦντες οἱ δεῖλαιοι. πῶς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος σαρκωθείς, μία φύσις; καὶ τίς αὕτη ἡ φύσις, θεία ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη; ἀνατρέπουσιν ἄρα μίαν. οὕτως ἀπεναντίας τῶν θείων δογμάτων βαίνουσι.

the fathers say this. And all that poured forth from the side of the Savior is communion, since it flowed from the Lord's body. It is from this body and from no other, even if it is called blood, on the one hand, and water, on the other. And they are truly such, as is witnessed, blood and water. For since it was necessary that the two sources appear, by which we might be reborn and might live in the Spirit, these flow forth to us from <Him who is> life itself.

65. And for this reason, it is necessary that there always be also water in the awe-inspiring chalice, as there is wine, for the manifestation of the mystery.

66. And neither should it be water alone, as the impious¹⁰¹ heresy of the Hydroparastatae¹⁰² says, rejecting the tradition of the mysteries, and as the atheism and impiety of the Arabs say,¹⁰³ turning away from wine and not from drunkenness as evil, by a suggestion of the most evil demon who moves and provokes them against us Christians to reject our most sacred sacrifice, which is rather their wretched disgrace and perversion.

67. Nor should it be wine alone <as it is> according the heretical Armenians, who perhaps desiring to overturn another heresy have fallen into a worse one, as this also happened to others who turned away from the truth. For wishing perhaps to oppose Nestorius, who believed that there is a division in Christ: on one hand, the Word, and on the other, the humanity, they have come to say that there is one nature in Christ, the wretches, rejecting His economy <of salvation>. For how can God the Word be incarnate if there is but one nature? And which nature is it, divine or human? So, they refute one nature. They go on in this way in opposition to the divine doctrines.

101 I.e., non-Orthodox, cf. E 61 footnote 100.

102 Various groups that used water without wine in the eucharist, cf. Latin "Aquarii."

103 ἑθνικῶν PG. In his edition of L, Fountoulis (footnote p. 305) suggests that the original reading, ἀγαρνῶν ("Hagarite" = Arab, cf. Gen 16–21; p. 304, l. 613–614), may have been softened by Greek scribes to ἑθνικῶν during the Turkish occupation. Symeon uses the expression to refer to Muslims, although the Muslims encountered were Turks, not Arabs.

f 31

68. Τῇ τῶν Ὑδροπαραστατῶν || δὲ αἰρέσει καὶ ὁ Χρυσορρήμων ἀνθίσταται, ἐν τῷ λέγειν τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ Κυρίου «Οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου». ἄμπελος δὲ οἶνον, οὐχ ὕδωρ γεννᾷ. ἀνατρέπει μὲν γὰρ τὴν αἶρεσιν, οὐκ ἀποβάλλεται δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔφη οἶνον μόνον χωρὶς τοῦ ὕδατος· ἀλλ' ἡ ἄμπελος οἶνον γεννᾷ, καὶ οὐχ ὕδωρ. λοιπὸν ὀφείλει μὲν εἶναι καὶ ὁ οἶνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄμφω ἐκ τῆς θείας ἐρρύησαν πλευρᾶς. ἀλλ' αἱ παρατροπαὶ τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος πολλοὺς ἀπεπλάνησαν τῆς εὐθείας.

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69. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν τρέχοντες, ὥσπερ αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐδιδάχθημεν τῆς ζωοποιῶ ἀπορρεῦσαι, οὕτω καὶ οἶνον σὺν ὕδατι τῷ ποτηρίῳ εἰσάγομεν· καὶ τῇ ἀγίᾳ Τριάδι μετὰ τοῦ ἐνζύμου ἄρτου προσφέρομεν, ὡς καὶ παρελάβομεν παρὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄρτος ἐνζυμος ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν οὕτω παρεδόθη προσάγεσθαι· καὶ αἱ ἱεραὶ εὐχαὶ μαρτυροῦσι, καὶ ἡ πάλαι παράδοσις καὶ συνήθεια· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον δέ, οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ.

70. Καὶ περὶ τούτου ἡ θεία παριστᾷ τοῦ Χρυσορρήμονος λειτουργία, καὶ ἔτι σαφέστερον ἢ τοῦ θεοφάντορος Βασιλείου. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰπεῖν καὶ «Λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ ἀμωμήτοις χερσίν», «Καὶ ἀναδείξας σοι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἀγιάσας, κλάσας ἔδωκε», τότε ἐπάγει «Ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου λαβὼν, κεράσας, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἀγιάσας, ἔδωκεν». ὁρᾷς; «Ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου λαβὼν», φησί, «καὶ κεράσας», τουτέστιν⁵³ ὕδατι μίξας. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ «κεράσας».

71. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰάκωβος ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ αὐτοῦ ἱερᾷ λειτουργίᾳ, αὕτη δὲ εὐρίσκεται ἐν πολλοῖς, οὕτω φησί· «Καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον καὶ κεράσας ἐξ οἶνου καὶ

68. Chrysostom¹⁰⁴ opposed the heresy of the Hydro-parastatae,¹⁰⁵ speaking of what the Savior said: "I will not drink from now on of the fruit of the vine."¹⁰⁶ The vine produces wine, not water. For while this overturns the heresy, yet water is not excluded. For He did not say wine alone without water, but the vine produces wine, and not water. One must take care, then, that there be wine, but also the water with it, since both indeed flowed forth from the divine side. But the deceptions of the Deceiver have led many astray from the straight path.

69. We, however, walking the royal road, just as we were taught that blood and water flowed forth from His vivifying side, so too we pour wine with water into the chalice, and we make an offering to the holy Trinity with leavened bread, as we also received from Christ our God, from His apostles and from our fathers. And the leavened bread from on high, on the one hand, was thus handed on to us to be offered, and the sacred prayers and ancient tradition and custom witness to this, while, on the other hand, the chalice is of wine and water.

70. And the Divine Liturgy of Chrysostom¹⁰⁷ proves this, and that of the God-revealing Basil <does so> even more clearly. For after saying, "And having taken bread in His holy, undefiled, and blameless hands, and raising it to You, God and Father, having given thanks, blessed, and sanctified and broken it, He gave it,"¹⁰⁸ then it adds, "Likewise, having taken also the chalice of the fruit of the vine, having diluted it, given thanks, blessed, and sanctified it, He gave it,"¹⁰⁹ Do you see? It says, "Having taken from the fruit of the vine, and having diluted," that is, having mixed with water. For this is <what> diluting <means>.

71. But also the divine James in the sacred liturgy attributed to him, a liturgy found in many places, speaks thus, "And having taken the chalice and having diluted it with

104 Χρυσορρήμων; cf. L 64 footnote 99.

105 Without using the name Ὑδροπαραστάται (Hydroparastatae) Chrysostom refers to the "heresy" of offering only water in the chalice, *Hom. in Matth.* 82, 2 (PG 58:740).

106 Mt 26:29, Mk 14:25, Lk 22:18.

107 Χρυσορρήμων; cf. L 64 footnote 99.

108 CHR: Brightman 385; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 63.

109 BAS: Brightman 405; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 88.

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ὕδατος». ⁵⁴ καὶ πάντες δὲ οὕτω προσέφερον ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες ἐν ταῖς καθολικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς θρόνοις. ||

72. Καὶ ἄνωθεν ἡ διαδοχὴ παρ' αὐτῶν ἡμῖν αὕτη τῆς ζωοθύτου θυσίας. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τινων μερικῶν, οὐδ' ἐν γωνία τὰς παραδόσεις ἐλάβομεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πάντων ἄνωθεν τῶν διαδόχων, τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ὁμολογητῶν πατέρων, τῶν καὶ θαύμασιν ἀστραφάντων, ὁμοῦ συνηγμένων πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις, καὶ τῇ φιλοχρίστῳ μᾶλλον πόλει τῇ Κωνσταντίνου· ἥτις δὴ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ τεθεμελιωμένη ἐστὶ καὶ ἠύξημένη, συντηρουμένη τε διὰ τῆς παναγίας αὐτοῦ Μητρός.

73. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως τελεσθὲν ἐσφραγίσθη ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς δευτέρας θείας συνόδου. καὶ ὁμοῦ οἱ πατέρες τότε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλάκις ὁμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐκ τῶν περάτων ἀπάντων, καὶ πολλάκις ἅμα ἱερουργήσαντες, τὰ τῆς μυσταγωγίας ἀκριβῶς ἡμῖν παραδεδώκασιν ἅπαντες.

74. Καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐξαιρέτως αὕτη τῆς Κωνσταντίνου παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας τὸ ἡκριβωμένον ἔχει καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ὀρθὸν τῆς πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀκίβδηλον, καὶ τὸ τῶν θείων ἀπαρχῆς παραδόσεων ἀπαράθραυστον. ἐπειδὴ καὶ εὐσεβεία συνέστη, καὶ ποιμένες ἐν ταύτῃ ἰσαπόστολοι ὥφθησαν· καὶ τὸν κορυφαῖόν τε καὶ πρωτόκλητον ἐν ἀποστόλοις ἔσχε θεμέλιον· καὶ παρὰ Χριστιανῶν βασιλέων, Κωνσταντίνου τε καὶ λοιπῶν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ζηλωσάντων, ῥυκοδομήθη τε καὶ πεφύλακται καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ καιροὺς ζητήσεσι περὶ τε θείων δογμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν παραδόσεων οὐ μόνος ⁵⁵ εἰς τις ὁ ἀρχιερατεὺς ἐν ταύτῃ νομοθετῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ προστάγματι καὶ σπουδῇ εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τῆς εὐσεβείας προστατοῦντες ⁵⁶ ἀρχιερεῖς συνηθροίζοντο.

54 The standard modern academic text of the Liturgy of St. James has a slightly different phrasing: Ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ κεράσας ἐκ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, ἀτενίσας... (In a similar manner after eating supper, taking a cup and having mixed wine and water, having gazed...) "La Liturgie de Saint Jacques," ed. by B.-Ch. Mercier, *Patrologia Orientalis* 26, fascicle 2 (1946) 202. 55 μόνον PG. 56 προστατοῦντες PG.

wine and water." And all our fathers in the catholic churches and on the apostolic thrones have been offering in this way.

72. And this is the succession of the sacrifice of the sacrificial victim from them of old to us. For not from some isolated individuals or in some remote corner¹¹⁰ have we received the traditions, but from all the successors of old, the apostles and the confessor fathers, who shone forth with their miracles, having been gathered together often within our borders and in the Christ-loving city of Constantine, which is indeed founded in Christ, strengthened and preserved whole by His all-holy Mother.

73. For there the completed symbol of the faith of those in Nicea was sealed by the second divine ecumenical council. And similarly then and afterwards, having often come together from all corners of the earth and often having done the sacred-service together, the fathers all handed down to us with precision the elements of the mystagogy.

74. And especially this Church of the city of Constantine, more than the others, holds what is perfect, pure, correct, and unadulterated of the faith in Christ, and what is indestructible of the divine traditions from the very beginning. For it was truly established by piety,¹¹¹ and shepherds appeared in it who were equal-to-the-apostles, and it has the coryphaeus and first-called of the apostles¹¹² as a foundation, and was built and has been protected by Christian sovereigns zealous for Christ, Constantine and the rest. And in the inquiries, from time to time, concerning the divine teachings and the other sacred traditions, not one person alone serving as pontiff was lawgiver in it, but the bishops who protect piety throughout all the civilized world gathered together by ordinance and by the zeal of the pious sovereigns.

¹¹⁰ I.e., Armenia.

¹¹¹ For this and other occurrences of "pious" and "piety," cf. E 1 footnote 2.

¹¹² St. Andrew; cf. Jn 1:40.

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75. Καὶ ὁ Ῥώμης παρῆν, ἡ δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ὥς ποτε ὁ Ἀγαπητός, καὶ ὕστερον Μαρτίνος, ἡ διὰ τοποτηρητῶν· καὶ /ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου, καὶ τῆς θείας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλήμ· καὶ ἔτι οἱ πανταχόθεν πάντες λογάδες καὶ ἔκκριτοι. οἱ καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν διαλύοντες τὰ ἀμφισβητούμενα, τὰ ἀκραιφνῆ τε καὶ ἀληθῆ ὅροις ἐβεβαίουν καὶ καλῶς ἡσφαλίζοντο· || καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων λαβόντες.

76. Ἦνίκα γὰρ ὁ περὶ τῆς περιτομῆς παρὰ τινων εἰσῆχθη λόγος, οὐκ ἐθάρρησαν ἑαυτοῖς Παῦλος τε καὶ Βαρνάβας νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων συνόδῳ, δι' ἧς καὶ τὸ πρακτέον ἐν γράμμασιν ἔλαβον· ὅτε καὶ οὐ Πέτρος μόνον ἐλάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης, καὶ οἱ λοιποί· καὶ οὕτως ὁμοῦ γράφουσιν ἐν τῇ τούτων ἐπιστολῇ.

77. Καὶ πρὸ τούτου Πέτρος, ἡνίκα εἰς τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς δωδεκάδος τῶν μαθητῶν ἓνα ἤθελεν ἀπολέξασθαι, οὐκ ἐθάρρησεν ἑαυτῷ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκοινώσατο, καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις τὸ ἔργον ἐτέλεσε. καὶ ὅτε δὲ μετὰ ἀποκαλύψεως τὸν Κορνήλιον παρεδέξατο, πλείστοις λόγοις καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν, ὥς ὅτι παρὰ Θεοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἦν καὶ οὐ παρ' αὐτοῦ, τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐβεβαιώσατο, ὥς ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ παραδέξωνται. καὶ Παῦλος δὲ ὁμοίως ἀνήρχετο καὶ ἐκοινοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχη, ἢ ἔδραμε· Παῦλος ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν φέρων ὁ πάντοτε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου κινούμενος Πνεύματος.

78. Λοιπὸν τίς τολμήσειεν ὅλως ἑαυτὸν συνιστᾶν, μὴ παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ συνιστάμενος δούλων; ἢ τίνα προφέρειν ἔχοιεν τινες παρὰ τοὺς πατέρας διδάσκαλον, ἓνα τε καὶ δύο καὶ πλείονας, τῶν κιβδήλων δογμάτων καὶ μυστηρίων ἀμυήτων⁵⁷ ἐξάρχοντας; οὓς ψευδοδιδασκάλους μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν

75. And <the bishop of> Rome was present, either himself, such as Agapitus¹¹³ at one time and later Martin,¹¹⁴ or by delegates, and also the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch and of the divine city Jerusalem, and in addition all the prominent and distinguished men from everywhere. Unanimously resolving the disputes, they established by definitions and guarded securely what is pure and true. And they received this <practice> from the apostles.

76. For when the question of circumcision was raised by some, Paul and Barnabas were not so bold as to make laws on this by themselves, but <confided> it to the council of the apostles, by means of which they received in writing what was to be done, when not only Peter spoke, but also James and John and the rest, and thus jointly they write in their letter.¹¹⁵

77. And earlier when Peter wanted to pick someone to complete the number of the twelve disciples, he was not so bold as to do so by himself, but joined with the group and with them completed the task.¹¹⁶ And when with a revelation he received Cornelius with many statements and testimonies by those present, he confirmed that the deed was from God and not from him to the rest of the apostles, so that they also received him.¹¹⁷ And Paul likewise went up and shared his message so that he would not run, or have run, in vain,¹¹⁸ Paul who bore Christ and who was always moved by the Holy Spirit.

78. Therefore who would by himself dare establish <anything> himself, if he has not been established by God or by God's servants? Or what teacher might they¹¹⁹ have to offer besides the fathers? One, two or more teachers of forged doctrines and profane mysteries?¹²⁰ It is more fitting to say rather that they are pseudo-teachers, teach-

113 Pope Agapitus I (535-536), *ODB* 34.

114 Pope Martin I (649-655), kidnapped from Rome and taken to Constantinople by Emperor Constans II in 653, *ODB* 1307.

115 Acts 14-15.

116 Acts 1:15-26.

117 Acts 10-11.

118 Cf. Gal 2:2.

119 I.e., the Armenians.

120 I.e., unbaptized (unchristian) sacraments.

ἀκόλουθον, διδάσκοντας ἕτερα καὶ νομοθετοῦντας καινὰ, παρὰ τὰ κοινῶς δεδογμένα τε καὶ βεβαιωθέντα, καὶ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων πάντων ὁμοῦ ἔν τε ταῖς κοιναῖς συνελεύσεσι καὶ πανταχοῦ παραδεδομένα. καὶ ἱκανὰ μὲν τὰ περὶ τούτου.

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79. Ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς δίσκος τὸν ἱερώτατον ἄρτον ἔχει, καὶ τὸ θεῖον ποτήριον, τὸν οἶνον μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀνατεθειμένα Θεῷ. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἑτέραν λαβὼν προσφορὰν, ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ σφραγίδος μίαν ἐξάγει μερίδα διὰ τῆς λόγχης, καὶ εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην προσάγει τῆς Θεομήτορος. καὶ ταύτην ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ ἱεροῦ ἄρτου τίθησιν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος ἀντίτυπός ἐστιν ἔτι τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἡ μερίς δὲ ἐκείνη ἀντ' αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦτον τεκούσης παρθενικῶς. σωζομένης οὖν κὰν τῷ τύπῳ τῆς ἀληθείας, παρίσταται ἢ βασιλίσσα ψαλμικῶς ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ βασιλέως Χριστοῦ, τὰς πρώτας τιμὰς ὡς μήτηρ κομιζομένη. πρῶτον καὶ γὰρ τὸ δεξιόν.

Περὶ τῶν
προσφερομένων ἐν
τῇ προθέσει
μερίδων ὑπὲρ τε
ἀγίων καὶ πάντων
τῶν εὐσεβῶν.

80. Ἐξ ἀριστερῶν δέ, ἐκ προσφορᾶς ἑτέρας τῇ λόγχῃ μερίδας ἐξάγων σταυροειδῶς ἐκ τῆς σφραγίδος ὁ ἱερεὺς, τῶν ἀγίων ἀπάντων μνήμην ποιεῖται καὶ τίθησι. καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην προσφέρει τῶν τιμίων ἐπουρανίων δυνάμεων. καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσφέρειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῆς οἰκονομίας αὐτοὶ καθυπουργήσαν· καὶ ὅτι ἠνώθησαν ἡμῖν, καὶ μία ἐσμὲν ἐκκλησία· καὶ ὅτι ἐπιθυμοῦσι παρακύπτειν εἰς τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μυστήρια, κομιζόμενοι καὶ οὗτοι ἀνάβασιν· καὶ ὅτι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰσι, φύλακες ἡμῖν καὶ διαλλακταὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ὄντες.

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81. Τὴν δὲ εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων προφητῶν καὶ δικαίων, προκαταγγειλάντων τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν· τὴν δὲ εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην τῶν ἀγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, ὡς ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς πρῶτων ἱερέων καὶ διδασκάλων τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τῶν μετ'

ing other things and making new laws, contrary to what has been commonly taught and established by all the fathers unanimously in the common synods and what has been handed down as tradition everywhere. But enough about this.

<...Back to the Prothesis>

79. The sacred diskos holds the most sacred bread, and the divine chalice the wine with the water, offered to God. The priest himself, taking another prosphora, removes a particle with the lance from the seal in the center and offers it in honor and commemoration of the Mother of God. And he places it to the right of the sacred bread on the diskos. For while the bread itself is a symbol of the body of Christ, that particle takes the place of Her who bore Him virginally. So the truth is preserved even in the form: the queen, as in the psalm, stands by at the right hand of the Son and king, Christ,¹²¹ and receives the first honors being His Mother. For the first place belongs on the right.

80. Removing particles with the lance from the cross-shaped seal of another prosphora, then, the priest commemorates all the saints and places <the particles> on the left. He offers the particle in honor and memory of the honorable heavenly powers. And it is necessary to make an offering for them because they rendered service to the mystery of the economy <of salvation>, because they have been united to us and we are one Church, because they long to stoop down to the mysteries of the Church, escorting them upwards, and because they are with us, our guardians and our intercessors before God.

81. Then he offers the <particle> in honor and memory of the honorable Forerunner and of all the holy prophets and just ones who predicted the becoming human¹²³ of the Lord; then the <particle> in honor and memory of the holy and wholly-blessed apostles, as ministers of Christ, as first priests and teachers of the faith, and <one> for those after

<94.> About the particles offered in the prothesis for the saints and all the pious.¹²²

¹²¹ Cf. Ps 44 (45):10.

¹²² I.e., Orthodox, cf. E 1 footnote 2.

¹²³ Cf. E 8 footnote 15.

αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐσπουδακότων, τῶν ἁγίων ἱεραρχῶν, τῶν ἁγίων καλλινίκων μαρτύρων, καὶ τῶν ὁσίων σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις· τελευταῖον δὲ εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην προσφέρει τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἁγίου, ἡ τοῦ ἐορταζομένου, καὶ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου πατρός, ἡ Βασιλείου, οὗ ἡ λειτουργία ἐστὶ, καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ πάλιν τῶν ἁγίων, ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἦνωνται.

82. Καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μετὰ τῆς ἀναμνήσεως τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τὴν ἀνάμνησιν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς ἀλοχεύτως αὐτὸν τεκούσης, ὡς εἴρηται, δι' ἧς τὰ μυστήρια τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἐκτετέλεστοι· ἔπειτα τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, ὡς καθυπουργησάντων τῷ μυστηρίῳ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν ἐνωθέντων, καὶ περιφυλαττόντων ἡμᾶς.

f 33

83. Ἐπειτα τῶν προκηρυξάντων || τὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου προφητῶν καὶ δικαίων, ὧν ἐξαίρετος καὶ σφραγὶς ὁ Βαπτιστής· ἔπειτα τῶν θεοπτῶν καὶ⁵⁸ κηρύκων, ἀποστόλων⁵⁹ οἱ τὸν κόσμον κατηύγασαν, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τῶν διαδόχων αὐτῶν ἱεραρχῶν, καὶ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ κηρύγματος, τῶν μαρτύρων καὶ τῶν ὁσίων· καὶ τέλος πάντων ὁμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τῇ θυσίᾳ ταύτῃ τῇ ἱερᾷ πάντες ὁμοῦ ἄγγελοι τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἅγιοι καὶ ἠνώθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἡγιάσθησαν, καὶ τούτῳ ἡμᾶς ἐνοῦσιν.

84. «Ὡν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς», φησὶν, «ὁ Θεός», καὶ δώρησαι ἡμῖν πάντα «τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα», καὶ ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον. κατανοεῖς, ὡς ἀντὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰσὶν αἱ μερίδες; καὶ εἰς μνήμην αὐτῶν καὶ τιμὴν, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν προσφερόμεναι; μετέχουσι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῷ φρικτῷ τούτῳ ὡς συνηγωνισμένοι Χριστῷ, δόξης καὶ ἀναβάσεως μεῖζονος, τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς σωτηριώδους θυσίας, καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ καταλλάσσουσι καὶ συνάπτουσι· καὶ μᾶλλον ὅσω τούτων μεμνήμεθα.

58 καὶ om. PG.

59 After ἀποστόλων add τε καὶ PG.

them who have been zealous for piety,¹²⁴ the holy hierarchs; <one> for the holy gloriously triumphant martyrs, and <one> for the holy monk saints with all the saints. Finally, he makes an offering in honor and memory of the saint of the day or the one whose feast is being celebrated, and <one> for father Chrysostom or Basil, depending on whose is the liturgy, and again for all the saints together, since all are united in Christ.

82. And it is necessary that with the commemoration of the Lord, commemoration also be made of His servants: first, of Her who bore Him without birth pangs, as was said, and through whom the mysteries of our salvation were accomplished; then, of the holy angels who rendered service to the mystery and are also united to us by Him and are guarding us.

83. Then, of the prophets and just ones who proclaimed¹²⁵ the events of the mystery beforehand, of whom the special one and the seal is the Baptist; then, of the God-seeing heralds, the apostles, who illuminated the world, together with their successors the hierarchs, and the fruit of their preaching, the martyrs and the holy monks; and finally all of them together, since by this sacred sacrifice both all angels and all holy men together have been united to Christ and in Him have they been sanctified and unite us to Him.¹²⁶

84. <The liturgy> says, "Through whose prayers, look § E 107 down upon us, O God,"¹²⁷ and grant us "all things requested leading to salvation"¹²⁸ and eternal life. Do you understand that the particles are in place of the saints? And that they are offered in memory and honor of them and for our salvation through them? For they also share in this awe-inspiring mystery as those who have fought together¹²⁹ for Christ, their glory and exaltation being greater by their communion in the saving sacrifice, and they reconcile and join us to Him, and even more so inasmuch as we commemorate them.

124 Cf. E 1 footnote 2.

125 Or "announced," cf. προκηρυξάντων <προ + κηρύσσω, Liddell-Scott 1486, Lampe 1153.

126 My thanks to Fr. Stelyios Muksuris for his help in understanding and translating this section.

127 In the anaphora of BAS: Brightman 406-407; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 91.

128 BAS: Brightman 408; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 92.

129 Or "struggled together," συνηγωνισμένοι <συναγωνίζομαι, Lampe 1296.

85. Πλὴν οὐ μεταβάλλονται αἱ μερίδες ἢ εἰς σῶμα δεσποτικόν, ἢ εἰς τὰ σώματα τῶν ἁγίων· ἀλλὰ δῶρα μόνον⁶⁰ εἰσὶ καὶ προσφοραὶ καὶ θυσίαι δι' ἄρτου κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ Δεσπότη, καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τούτων αὐτῶ προσφερόμεναι.

86. Καὶ τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων, τῇ ἐνώσει τε καὶ κοινωνίᾳ ἁγιαζόμεναι, καὶ εἰς ἐκείνους ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰσι, τὸν ἁγιασμὸν παραπέμπουσαι, καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ἡμᾶς· ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν τοῦτο γίνεται, ἡνίκα μνησθῶμεν αὐτῶν, ἢ ὅταν τοῖς ναοῖς ἢ τοῖς λειψάνοις αὐτῶν, ἢ ταῖς εἰκόσι τι προσενέγκωμεν. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀμέσως ἁγιάζονται παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ· δεχόμενοι δὲ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, δι' αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ἁγιάζουσιν. εἰ οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποδεκτὸν αὐτοῖς τὸ προσφέρειν εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην αὐτῶν, πολλῶ γε τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἀποδέχονται ἐν τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ θυσίᾳ. εἰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτῶς καὶ νοερῶς μετέχουσι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κοινωνίας ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἱερουργίας, ἣν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου παρέδωκε γίνεσθαι, μεγίστης μετέχουσι τῆς δόξης, ὥς συμπονήσαντες καὶ συνδοξαζόμενοι. || ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ θεϊότατοι ἄγγελοι, ὥς καὶ /αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἐνωθέντες καὶ τῷ μυστηρίῳ καθυπουργήσαντες, κοινωνοῦσι τῆς χάριτος.

f 33v

PG 284

87. Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου Μήτηρ, ἡ τῆς μεγάλης οἰκονομίας ὑπηρετής, τὸ τῆς θείας ἐνώσεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐργαστήριον, ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου τούτου θύματος ῥίζα τε καὶ γεννήτρια καὶ αἰτία τῷ Ποιητῇ φανεῖσα, πρὸ πάντων τὴν δόξαν κομίζεται καὶ τὴν ἑλλαμψιν πρωτοδότως ἐκ τοῦ σαρκωθέντος ἐξ αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ λόγον παρθενικῶς καὶ ἁγίως, καὶ ἡμῖν ἐνωθέντος ἄκρα χρηστότητι. διὸ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν τούτου παρίσταται,

⁶⁰ δῶρα μόνον] μόνα δῶρά PG.

85. However, the particles are not transformed into § L 102
 either the Lord's body or into the bodies of the saints,¹³⁰
 but they are only gifts and offerings and sacrifices by
 means of bread in imitation of the Master, and are offered
 to Him in the name of the saints.

86. They are sanctified by the sacred-service of the mys- § E 107
 teries, by the union, and by communion, and pass along
 holiness to those for whom they are offered, and, through
 those for the saints, to us, just as this also indeed happens
 through prayers when we have commemorated them or
 when we have made an offering to their sanctuaries, their
 relics, or their icons. For while <the saints> are being
 directly sanctified by God, receiving offerings from us
 they sanctify us through them. So, if it is acceptable to
 make an offering to them in their honor and memory in
 other things, so much more will this be accepted in the
 most sacred sacrifice. For if they share immaterially and
 spiritually¹³¹ in the communion of Christ by their souls,
 then also through His sacred-service, which He has
 handed down to take place for the world, they share the
 greatest glory, as fellow laborers and those glorified with
 Him. But also the most divine angels, as those united to us
 and rendering service to the mystery, share in the com-
 munion of grace.

87. Especially the Mother of God the Word, minister of
 the great economy <of salvation>, the workshop of the
 divine union with us, the root of this great sacrifice, the
 birth-giver and visible cause to the Creator, before all
 others attains brilliant glory, so as to be given first from the
 One who was incarnate from her virginally beyond reason
 and in a holy manner, and who was united to us by His
 ultimate goodness. Therefore She stands at His right

130 This assertion that the commemorative particles are not transformed into the body of the Lord, or into the bodies of the saints commemorated, is very interesting. The remark suggests that at Symeon's time some people did in fact hold that the commemorative particles for the saints were transformed into their bodies, as the main bread is transformed into the body of the Lord.

131 νοερώς, adverbial form of νοερός (E 32, L 35). Here and in E 32, Symeon refers to unseen spiritual realities, but in L 35 νοερός is used to indicate the intellect. When referring to spiritual realities, νοερός is a synonym of νοητός; cf. E 17 footnote 26.

καὶ ἅμα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἄρτου τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μερίδα τίθεμεν, τοῦτο δηλοῦντες ἐκ τούτου, ὡς ὑπερτέρα πάντων αὕτη, καὶ ἐγγυτέρα Θεῷ· ἐξ ἀριστερῶν δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀπάντων, ἐπεὶ τὴν δευτέραν οὗτοι πάντες ἔχουσι τάξιν· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ παραβαλλομένην ὅλως πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης ὑπεροχὴν. δι' αὐτῆς γὰρ καταλαμβάνονται, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς πρώτης ἡμεῖς διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σωζόμεθα. ὅτι καὶ διὰ ταύτης Θεῷ ἠνώθημεν.

88. Τοῦτο οὖν τελέσας ὁ ἱερεὺς ἔπειτα καὶ λοιπὰς προσφέρει μερίδας· προηγουμένως μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐστὶ πηγή· ἔπειτα δὲ ὑπὲρ παντός ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος, τῶν λειτουργούντων τῷ μυστηρίῳ· δεῖ γὰρ πρῶτον λαμβάνειν τὸν κοπιῶντα, ὡς καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ δοκεῖ· εἶτα ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν βασιλέων τῶν προμαχούντων τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ· μεθ' οὗς τοῦ καθηγουμένου, εἰ ἐν μονῇ τὰ τῆς τελετῆς, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀδελφότητος.

89. Εἰ δὲ ἐν ναῷ τινι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνεγείραντος, ἢ τὴν μνήμην τελοῦντος, καὶ τῶν συναγομένων ἐκεῖσε· καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσενεγκόντος, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ δῶρα προσήγαγε· τελευταῖον δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κοιμηθέντων, καὶ παντός ἱερατικοῦ τε καὶ μοναχικοῦ τάγματος.⁶¹ καὶ ἔτι πάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξως τελειωθέντων πιστῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔτι βούλεται ἢ ὀφείλει ὁ ἱερεὺς. καὶ τελευταῖον κοινῶς προσφέρει μερίδα ὑπὲρ πάσης ψυχῆς Χριστιανῶν ὀρθοδόξων.

f 34

90. Καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐπιλέγει πᾶσαν, πρὸς ἥ Θεὸν ἀναφέρων τὰ ῥήματα, ἣν λέγομεν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγρυπνιῶν λιτανείᾳ «Πρόσδεξαι, Κύριε», λέγων «τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην»⁶² ὑπὲρ πάσης ψυχῆς Χριστιανῶν,

61 τε καὶ μοναχικοῦ τάγματος] τάγματος καὶ μοναχικοῦ PG.
εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιον σου θυσιαστήριον PG.

62 After ταύτην add

hand, and at the same time we place the particle for Her to the right of the sacred bread representing by this that She is above all and closest to God; on the left are the particles for the angels and all the saints, since all these hold the second rank; rather, their rank is in no way comparable to Her superiority. For through Her, light shines on them, and from Her first we are saved through the saints. Because also through Her we were united to God.

88. So, having completed this, the priest then offers the rest of the particles; in the first place, for the bishop, since he is the source of the priesthood, then for all the priestly order doing the liturgy of the mystery; for it is necessary for the one toiling to receive first, as it also seems to Paul;¹³² then for the faithful sovereigns who lead the fight for piety¹³³ and for their own salvation, and for the Christ-loving people; after them, for the superior if the rite takes place in a monastery, and for the rest of the brotherhood.

89. If in a <secular> church, for the founder, or in his memory if deceased, and for those gathered together there; and also for the one who has made an offering, and for those for whom he offered the gifts; finally for those asleep in Christ, including the entire priestly and monastic order, then for all the Orthodox faithful departed, but then also for whomever the priest wishes or ought to commemorate. And finally he offers a particle in common for every Christian Orthodox soul.¹³⁴

90. And offering up to God the words, he adds the whole prayer which we say in the litany of the vigil, "Receive, Lord, this offering for every Christian soul, both suffering and afflicted, in need of your mercy and

132 Cf. 1 Tim 5:17 and 2 Tim 2:6.

133 Cf. E1 footnote 2.

134 Brightman 359; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 41.

θλιβομένης τε καὶ καταπονουμένης, ἐλέους σου καὶ βοηθείας ἐπιδομένης» καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄχρι τέλους. καὶ ταύτας τὰς ὑπὲρ τε ζώντων καὶ τεθνεώτων μερίδας ὑποκάτω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἄρτου τίθουσιν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν προσενηχθείσας τῶν ἰλασμοῦ καὶ μεσιτείας δεομένων, καὶ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπεκδεχομένων.

91. Ἰστέον δέ, ὡς ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν φρικτοτάτων μυστηρίων προσέχειν δεῖ τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ λαμβάνειν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν μερίδων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς τῆς δεσποτικῆς, καὶ κοινωνεῖν τοὺς προσερχομένους, εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῇ ἐνώσει τοῦ παναγίου αἵματος ἐν γεγόνασιν πάντα, καὶ κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος γίνεται τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ, εἰ καὶ διὰ μερίδος τις κοινωνήσῃ.

92. Ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπεὶ χρεῖα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ κοινωνῆσαι πάντα πιστόν, μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τὸ σῶμα λαμβάνων τῇ λαβίδι ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ δεσποτικόν, ποιεῖτω τῷ προσερχομένῳ τὴν /κοινωνίαν. καὶ ἀληθὲς μὲν, ὅτι πᾶσαι κεκοινωνήκασιν αἱ μερίδες τοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰσαχθεῖσαι τῷ ποτηρίῳ, καὶ σὺν αὐταῖς ἐνωθεῖσαι κοινωνεῖ ὁ μετέχων τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος· πλὴν κρεῖττον, ὥς γε νομίζω, τὸ ἐπιτηρεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θείου σώματος τῇ λαβίδι λαμβάνειν.

rescue..."¹³⁵ and the rest to the end. And he places the particles for both the living and the deceased below the sacred bread, since they are offered for us the humble¹³⁶ who are in need of propitiation and intercession and await the great mercy of God.

<Excursus: Communion and the Commemorative Particles>

91. It should be known that in the communion of the most awe-inspiring mysteries the priest must take care to receive not from the particles, but from the Lord's body, and must likewise give communion from it to those coming forward. However, since by the union of the all-holy blood all things become one, there is communion with the Lord's blood even if someone receives communion by means of a particle.

92. But since every one of the faithful should receive § E 103 communion in both the body and the blood of Christ, let the priest, taking the Lord's body with the blood in the spoon, give communion <in this way> to the one coming forward. It is also true that all the particles placed in the chalice are in communion with both the body and blood of Christ, and he who partakes of them, which are joined <to His body and blood>, receives communion of His body and blood; yet it is better, I think, to be careful to take a part of the divine body with the spoon.

¹³⁵ Commemorations are no longer made with this phrasing, but similar commemorations can be found in the Manuscript Vat. gr. 573, a fourteenth-fifteenth century diataxis. One finds for the first commemorations of the prothesis the following:

Δέξαι, Κύριε, τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου ("Receive, Lord, this offering in glory and honor of our blessed-above-all Lady, the Theotokos").

Δέξαι, Κύριε, τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τῆς ὑπερενδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας εἰς ἰλασμόν τοῦδε τοῦ προσενέγκαντος καὶ μνήσθητι ἔξ ὧν αὕτη προσηνέχθη ("Receive, Lord, this offering for the intercession of our supremely glorious Lady and ever-virgin Mary in propitiation for N., who made the offering and remember N., for whom the offering was made"; Krasnosel'cev 97-101). Symeon notes the similarity to the petitions in the *litê* of festal vespers, *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 20-21.

¹³⁶ Or "lowly," ταπεινός, Lampe § 7, 1373.

f. 34

93. Καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ παράδοσιν ἀρχαιοτάτην, ὡς καὶ παρελάβομεν παρὰ πατέρων ἁγίων, ὡς ἂν τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν κὰν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τελῶμεν· ὅτι καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις μετέδωκε.

94. Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ βήματι πάντες ἱερωμένοι, πληρωθέντος τοῦ θείου ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου, οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῦ ἄρτου μετέχουσι· ἰδίᾳ δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ποτηρίου ἡνωμένοι τῷ ἄρτῳ, ὡς ἂν ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τηρεῖται⁶³ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου δοθεῖσα τῆς κοινωνίας παρά⁶⁴δοσις.

f. 34

95. Ὡς καὶ τοῖς λαϊκοῖς πρότερον ἔθος ἦν οὕτω κοινωνεῖν καὶ χερσὶ λαμβάνειν τὸν ἄρτον, καθὰ καὶ ἡ ἕκτη τῶν συνόδων τοῦτό φησι. ὕστερον δὲ τοῖς πατράσι λαβίδι κοινωνεῖν ἔδοξε τοὺς λαϊκοὺς⁶⁵ διὰ τινα ἐπιγεγονότα. λοιπὸν καὶ ἦνῳνται αἱ μερίδες, καὶ ἐν εἰσὶ μετὰ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ αἵματος, καὶ τοῦ θείου σώματος εἰς λεπτὰ γεγονότος, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστι κοινωνός, ὁ σὺν αὐτοῖς κοινωνῶν ἡνωμένοις καθάπαν. ἀλλὰ τηρητέον καὶ τὴν θείαν παράδοσιν· καὶ τῇ λαβίδι αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ληπτέον μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος ἅμα, καὶ μεταδοτέον τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν.

96. Οὐ μεταβάλλονται δὲ φαμέν αἱ εἰς μνήμην τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τῶν πιστῶν μερίδες, ἀπ' αὐτῆς συνάγοντες τοῦτο τῆς ἄνωθεν παραδόσεως· προσφέρων γὰρ ἐν τῇ προθέσει τὸν ἄρτον ὁ ἱερεὺς, ἐκείνον μόνον ἐξάγει «εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ Κυρίου,» ὡς αὐτο...⁶⁶ ||

f 34v

97. ... καὶ εἰς ἰλασμόν τοῦ δεῖνα ζῶντος ἡ τεθνεώτος. καὶ ὅτι πρὸ τῶν μερίδων, εὐθὺς τῷ τὸν ἄρτον προσαγαγεῖν, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ποιεῖται τὴν ἔνωσιν, εἴτα τὰς μερίδας προσφέρει. εἰ δὲ πλείους χρειαν ἔχει προσενεγκεῖν ἄρτους εἰς προηγιασμένα, πάντας

63 τηρεῖται Z². 64 Καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ... τῆς κοινωνίας παρὰ- in right marg. f 34 Z².

65 ἔδοξε τοὺς λαϊκοὺς above line Z². 66 -δοσις. 95. Ὡς καὶ τοῖς... Κυρίου,» ὡς αὐτο in lower marg. f 34 Z². There follow 9–10 illegible letters. L (ed. Fountoulis) 324, l. 908–909 has ὡς αὐτοθυσίας τῆς μεγάλης (“as the great self-sacrifice”).

93. And this is according to a most ancient tradition, as we received from holy fathers, so that we fulfill the tradition of God and our Savior also in communion, because He gave a share of both His body and His blood to the apostles.

94. Therefore all the ordained in the sanctuary, when the divine chalice and the vivifying bread of the body of the Lord have been completed, do not receive from <the bread> alone, but separately they receive first of the bread, then again separately of the chalice united with the bread, so that the tradition of communion given from the beginning by the Lord be observed.

95. So it was the custom for the laity also to receive communion thus, receiving the bread in their hands, as the sixth council said.¹³⁷ Later the fathers thought that communion should be given to the laity by a spoon because of some incidents.¹³⁸ Then, the particles are also added, and they are one with the vivifying blood, and the divine body which has been <broken into> small pieces, <so> the one receiving communion with the <particles> entirely united <to the body and blood> does receive Christ in communion. Yet the divine tradition should be observed and the body itself should be received by the spoon together with the blood and should be distributed to those receiving communion. § E 100, L 153

96. We say that the particles in memory of the saints and the faithful are not transformed, gathering this from the ancient tradition; for the priest offering the bread in the prothesis extracts only it "in commemoration of the Lord,"¹³⁹ ...¹⁴⁰

97. ... and for <God's> mercy for a certain living or deceased person. And that before the particles, immediately upon offering the bread, he also mixes the chalice, then he offers the particles. If he needs to offer several breads for presanctified liturgies,

137 Canon 101 of the Council in Trullo, *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, eds. George Nedungatt and Michael Featherstone, *Kanonika* 6 (Rome, 1995) 181–183.

138 On the use of the spoon for communion, cf. Taft, chapter 4 of *Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites*, 262–315.

139 Symeon here, and in the following section, alludes to what the priest says before beginning to cut out the main bread from the prosphora: "Εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ" ("In remembrance of our Lord, and God and Savior Jesus Christ"), L 30; Brightman 356; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 38.

140 The Modern Greek in L (ed. Fountoulis) reads πού εἶναι ἡ μεγάλη αὐτοθυσία ("which is the great self-sacrifice"), 325, l. 21.

πρώτους προσφέρει, καὶ «εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ Κυρίου» φησί, καὶ οὕτως ἐνοῖ τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς μερίδας προσφέρει. Ὡστε εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ Κυρίου οἱ ἄρτοι μόνον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ προσφορά, ἐξ ἧς ὁ ἄρτος ὁ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάμνησιν, ἀντίδωρον πρῶτον κέκληται, καὶ ἐν δίσκῳ ἐμβαλλόμενος⁶⁷ ἰδίῳ, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐπιδίδοται.

98. Δεύτερον δέ, ἐξ ἧς ἡ μερίς τῆς Θεοτόκου, διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς τιμὴν· αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ προσφοραὶ ἐξ ὧν αἱ τῶν ἁγίων μερίδες, οὐκ ἀντίδωρον λέγονται· καὶ ἐν τῇ τελειώσει ὁ ἱερεὺς, εἰ μὲν εἰς ἐστὶ ἄρτος, «Καὶ ποιήσον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτόν» φησί· καὶ οὐ διὰ τὰς μερίδας «τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους»· εἰ δὲ πλείους ἄρτους, εἰ⁶⁸ ἂν ὥσι προηγιασμένοι, «Καὶ ποιήσον τοὺς μὲν ἄρτους τούτους» φησί, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀννύψει, τὸν ἄρτον ἢ τοὺς ἄρτους, εἰ πλείους, ἀννύσῃ,⁶⁹ || καὶ οὐ τὰς μερίδας.

f 35

99. Καὶ μελίζων τὸν ἄρτον, τὸ ἄνω τμήμα τοῦ ἄρτου ἐμβάλλει τῷ ποτηρίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν μερίδων. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ μελίζων τμήματα τρία τοῦ θείου καὶ ζωοποιῦ ἄρτου, ἐκ τούτων ἱερεῦσι καὶ διακόνους παρέχει, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν μερίδων. καὶ ἐν τοῖς προηγιασμένοις οὐ μερίδας φυλάσσει, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Πέμπτην τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἐκ τῶν μερίδων, ἀλλὰ τέλειον ἄρτον. καὶ χειροτονῶν πρεσβύτερον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, τέλειον προσφερόμενον ἄρτον, καὶ οὐ μερίδα δίδωσι τῇ χειρὶ, λέγων «Λάβε ταύτην τὴν παρακαταθήκην». καὶ τοὺς τελείους ἄρτους ἐν τῇ προσκομιδῇ ἱερεὺς μὲν προσφέρει, τὰς μερίδας δὲ εἶδομεν καὶ διακόνους προσφέροντας, εἰ καὶ ἐκωλύσαμεν τοῦτο.

67 ἐμβαλλόμενον L (ed. Fountoulis) 326, l. 920. 68 εἰ om. L (ed. Fountoulis) 326, l. 927.

69 97. καὶ εἰς ἱλασμόν... εἰ πλείους, ἀννύσῃ, in lower marg. f 34v Z².

he offers them all first, and says, "In commemoration of the Lord," and thus he mixes the chalice and after this offers the particles, so that the breads alone are in commemoration of the Lord. But the prosphora from which <comes> the bread used in commemoration of the Lord is called "first antidoron," and is placed on a separate diskos by the priest and distributed to the faithful.

98. Next <comes> the second one, out of which comes the particle of the Theotokos, in Her honor; the rest of the prosphoras out of which come the particles of the saints are not called "antidoron"; and in the consecration the priest, if there is one bread, says, "And make this bread...", and not "these breads" because of the particles. But if there are several breads, for presanctified liturgies, he says, "And make these breads," and at the elevation he elevates the bread, or the breads if there are several, but not the particles.

99. And breaking the bread, he places the upper section of the bread into the chalice, but none of the particles. Breaking the remaining three sections of the divine and vivifying bread, from these he provides communion to the priests and deacons, but not from the particles. And for the presanctified liturgies he takes care not <to use> particles, nor on Holy Thursday is the "Trust" <handed to the priests> from the particles, but the consecrated bread.¹⁴¹ When the bishop ordains a priest, he does not give him a particle in the hand, but the complete consecrated¹⁴² bread saying, "Receive this trust."¹⁴³ A priest offers the whole¹⁴⁴ breads in the prothesis,¹⁴⁵ but we have seen deacons offering particles, though we have forbidden this practice.

141 Lit. "complete bread," τέλειον ἄρτον. Symeon's terminology here is not entirely clear since he also uses τέλειον ἄρτον (L 36-37, 46, 58-59) to mean leavened bread, as opposed to the unleavened hosts of the Western church. We translate τέλειον here as "consecrated" because of the context.

142 τέλειον προσφερόμενον ἄρτον, cf. προσφέρω, Lampe 1183 § L 2 h ii.

143 Αρχιερατικόν 86; Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα 165.

144 Or, "complete bread(s)." Surprisingly Symeon uses τελείους ἄρτους here, the plural of the same expression used earlier in the same section for bread already consecrated in the liturgy. However, once again because of the context of the prothesis, the preparatory rites before the opening blessing of the Divine Liturgy, he clearly must be referring to simple leavened bread.

145 προσκομιδή, cf. L 25 footnote 34.

100. Ἐκ τούτων οὖν πάντων τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδόσεων ἔστι συνάγειν, ὡς ὁ ἄρτος μόνος ἢ οἱ ἄρτοι εἰσὶν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ Κυρίου, αὐτὸ τὸ⁷⁰ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου, αὐτὸ τὸ ἐκ παρθένου καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, αὐτὸ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ πλευρᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη καὶ ὁ Παῦλος καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ τούτων διάδοχοι καὶ ἐξαιρέτως οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ἱεραρχῶν Βασιλείους τε καὶ Χρυσορρήμων.

f 35v

101. Αἱ μερίδες δὲ εἰς μνήμην εἰσὶν, ὑπὲρ ὧν προσφέρονται...⁷¹ || ... ὧν ὁ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ ἄρτος καὶ πολλοί, καὶ ὅσοι ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ παρὰ πάντων ἱερουργοῦνται ἱερουργῶν, ἐπεὶ διὰ πάντων αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἱερουργεῖ καὶ ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ θῦμα τελῶν καὶ θύτης.

102. Καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖ δι' ἡμῶν, ἵνα τοὺς ἀπαντας φθάνη πανταχοῦ παρὰ αὐτόν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν⁷² ἁγίους ὑποῖ, τοὺς λοιποὺς δὲ δούλους αὐτοῦ, καθαίρει τε καὶ λαμπρύνει, καὶ ἀναλόγως ἕκαστον τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ τῶν πιστῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας μὲν τὴν αὐτὸν ἁγίαν τεκοῦσαν,⁷³ ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας ἁγίαν μόνην καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἀγγέλους ἀσυγκρίτῳ ὑπεροχῇ, ἔπειτα δὲ νόας τε καὶ ἁγίους· καὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς δὲ ὁμοίως· καὶ καλῶς ἢ ἐκκλησία⁷⁴ τὰς μερίδας προσφέρει· δείκνυσι⁷⁵ τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον οἶον καὶ ὡς πέτρα ἢ ζῶσα αὐτὴ, ἁγιάζει θεοῦσα πάντας. πλὴν οὐ θεοὺς φύσει ποιεῖ, ὡς οὐδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν παρθένον· καὶ ταῦτα ἐνυποστάτως ἐν γαστρὶ τὸν Λόγον λαβοῦσαν καὶ σάρκα τούτῳ ἐξ αἱμάτων δανείσασαν. κεχαριτωμένη γὰρ ὑπὲρ πάντας, καὶ ἁγία ἐξαιρέτως· καὶ θεὸς κατὰ χάριν καὶ Θεοτόκος κυρίως· οὐ μὴν δὲ θεὸς φύσει· εἰς δὲ φύσει Θεὸς Λόγος, ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκωθείς· καὶ μόνον ὁμόθεον καὶ ἀχώριστον αὐτῷ, τὸ προσληφθὲν αὐτῷ σῶμα, θεοῦπόστατον ὄν· ὅθεν καὶ κοινωνοῦντες Χριστοῦ οἱ ἅγιοι, θεοῦνται μὲν κατὰ χάριν, οὐ θεοὶ δὲ γίνονται φύσει.

103. Καὶ αἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μερίδες, κοινωνοῦσι μὲν τοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος, καὶ τῇ ἀνακράσει ἐν γίνονται σὺν αὐτοῖς, καθ' ἑαυτὰς δὲ εἰ διέλης, οὐκ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα εἰσὶν ἢ

70 αὐτὸ τὸ] καὶ, L (ed. Fountoulis) 326, l. 946. 71 καὶ οὐ τὰς μερίδας... ὑπὲρ ὧν προσφέρονται in lower marg. f 35 Z². It is followed by most of a line trimmed from the bottom of the folio. 72 μὲν om. L (ed. Fountoulis) 328, l. 958. 73 αὐτὸν ἁγίαν τεκοῦσαν] αὐτὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Κυρίου Μητέρα ("the holy one who is the mother of the Lord"), L (ed. Fountoulis) 328, l. 966. 74 ὧν ὁ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν... καὶ καλῶς ἢ ἐκκλησία in upper marg. f 35v Z². 75 δείκνυσα, L (ed. Fountoulis) 328, l. 966.

100. Out of all these traditions from the beginning it can § L 115-16
be gathered that only the bread (or the breads) are in commemoration of the Lord. It is the body of the Lord, the body which was born from the Virgin, and no other; and the chalice is His blood from His side and no other, as both He Himself and Paul said, and also the disciples and their successors, and especially the greatest of the hierarchs, both Basil and Chrysostom.¹⁴⁶

101. But the particles are in memory of those for whom they are offered... the bread in commemoration of Christ, many <of them>, as many as are offered in all the world by all those celebrating the sacred-service, since through all of those <ministers> He offers Himself in the sacred-service, the great high priest,¹⁴⁷ who both offers the sacrifice and is the sacrificial offering.

102. And He does this through us <the priests>, in order that § L 85
being present everywhere He might do this for all. While He lifts up the saints, He purifies and illuminates the rest of His servants, each one proportionately, both saints and the faithful, and above all the holy One who bore Him, since She alone <remains> holy beyond all saints and incomparably surpasses even the first angels; <and> after both the <angelic> intelligences and saints; similarly the faithful. And it is good that the Church offers the particles; it shows the mystery of the economy <of salvation> that, as the living stone, sanctifies, deifying all. However, it does not make them divine in nature, just as it does not make the Virgin Herself, even though She received the hypostatic Word in Her womb and gave Him flesh from Her blood. For She is graced above all and especially holy and a god according to grace and the Theotokos, but not God by nature. There is <only> One who is by nature God, the Word who was incarnate from Her, and alone equally God and undivided from Him, the body assumed by Him being of divine hypostasis. And, therefore, while being in communion with Christ, the saints are deified according to grace, but they do not become gods by nature.

103. And the particles for them are in communion with both § L 92
the body and the blood, and by the mixing they become one with them; if, however, you distinguish each <of the particles> sepa-

¹⁴⁶ Χρυσόστομος; cf. L 64 footnote 99.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. L 47 footnote 68.

τὸ αἷμα, ἀλλ' ἠνωμένως⁷⁶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ αἵματι· διὸ καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐταῖς κοινωνῶν, πλήρεσι οὖσαις τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος κοινωνεῖ· πλήν διὰ τῶν μερίδων, ὡς ἔχει συνάγεσθαι, εἰ καὶ οὐ δογματικῶς ταῦτα φημί,⁷⁷ ἔπομαι γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὅπως ἔχει κηρυττόμενον⁷⁸ παρ' αὐτῆς.⁷⁹ ||

f 34v

104. Ἰδῶμεν δὲ πῶς καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ θείου τύπου καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τῆς ἱερᾶς προσκομιδῆς τὸν Ἰησοῦν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ μίαν πᾶσαν ὁρῶμεν, μέσον αὐτὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς, τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον κεκτημένην, καὶ φωτιζομένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεχομένην. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου μέσον ἐστίν· ἡ Μήτηρ δὲ διὰ τῆς μερίδος ἐκ δεξιῶν· ἄγγελοι δὲ καὶ ἅγιοι⁸⁰ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν· ὑποκάτω δὲ ἅπαν τῶν αὐτῷ πιστευσάντων τὸ εὐσεβὲς ἄθροισμα. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ μέγα μυστήριον· Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν, θεουμένων ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ὄντως Θεοῦ σαρκωθέντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. καὶ τοῦτο ἡ μέλλουσα βασιλεία καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς τὸ πολίτευμα· Θεὸς μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁρῶμενός τε καὶ μεταλαμβάνόμενος.

105. Καὶ οὐ χώρα ἀπίστοις, οὐδὲ γε μὴν ἑτερόφροσι. «Τίς γὰρ κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος;» ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔξαρουσι, φησί, τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκ μέσου τῶν δικαίων οἱ ἄγγελοι. διὸ καὶ οὐ θέμις ὅλως ἱερέα τινὰ ὑπὲρ ἑτεροδόξου προσφέρειν ἢ μνήμην ἅγειν αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν προδήλως ἀμαρτανόντων, καὶ ἀμετανοήτως ἐχόντων· ὅτι εἰς κατάκριμα αὐτοῖς ἢ προσαγωγή, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀμετανοήτως

Οὐ δεῖ προσφέρειν
ὑπὲρ αἱρετικῶν ἢ
μνημονεύειν
αὐτούς.⁸¹

76 ἠνωμένοι, L (ed. Fountoulis) 330, l. 981. 77 After φημί add ἀκμῆς L (ed. Fountoulis) 330, l. 985. 78 ἐκκλησίας καὶ <ὧ>ς ἐστι κηρυττόμενον L (ed. Fountoulis) 330, ll. 986–987. 79 τὰς μερίδας προσφέρει ... κηρυττόμενον παρ' αὐτῆς. in left marg. f 35v Z². 80 ἄγγελοι δὲ καὶ ἅγιοι] ἅγιοι δὲ καὶ ἄγγελοι PG. 81 Οὐ δεῖ προσφέρειν ὑπὲρ αἱρετικῶν ἢ μνημονεύειν αὐτούς.] om. PG.

rately, they are not the body or the blood, but are united to the body and the blood. Therefore the one receiving communion with them, they being full of the body and blood, also receives communion of His body and blood. <It is>, however, by means of the particles, as can be inferred,¹⁴⁸ even if I cannot say this dogmatically, for I always follow <the teachings> of the Church and what has been proclaimed by it.

<...Back to the Prothesis>

104. But let us see how both through this divine symbol and through the action of the sacred prothesis¹⁴⁹ we behold Jesus Himself and His Church all as one. With Christ the true light at the center, the Church has obtained life eternal and is enlightened and sustained by Him. For He is in the center through the bread on the diskos, while his Mother is at his right hand through the particle, and the angels and saints are to the left; below is the whole pious¹⁵⁰ gathering of those who believe in Him. And this is the great mystery: God among men and God in the midst of gods, deified by the one truly God by nature, who was incarnated for them. And this is the kingdom of the age to come and the reign of eternal life; God with us whom we both see and of whom we partake.¹⁵¹

105. And there is no place here for unbelievers, let alone for the heterodox. "For what communion does light have with darkness?"¹⁵² since, scripture says, the angels will separate out the evil from the midst of the just.¹⁵³ Therefore it is also not at all right for a priest to make an offering for a heterodox or make a commemoration of him; neither <is he permitted to do so> for those openly sinning and unrepentant. For the offering is to their condemnation, just

§ E 60, E 108-09

One must not make offerings for heretics or commemorate them.

148 Instead of "as can be inferred," the modern Greek translation has "ὅπως εἶναι φανερόν" ("as is evident..."), L (ed. Fountoulis) 331, l. 11.

149 προσκομιδῇ, cf. L 25 footnote 34.

150 Cf. E 1 footnote 2.

151 The translation of this sentence has been improved by modifications taken from the translation in Stelyios Muksuris' "The Liturgical Mystagogy and its Application in the Byzantine Prothesis Rite," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 49:3-4 (2004) 300.

152 2 Cor 6:14.

153 Cf. 1 Cor 5:13.

κοινωνοῦσι τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων, ὥσπερ ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος φησι.

Διατί θυμίαμα μετὰ
τὴν προσκομιδὴν;

106. Τὴν προσκομιδὴν τοίνυν ἐν τούτοις τελέσας ὁ ἱερεὺς, τῷ Θεῷ προσφέρει θυμίαμα εἰς εὐχαριστίαν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος. τούτου γὰρ τύπον πλουτεῖ τὸ θυμίαμα, καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ μαρτυρεῖ λέγουσα «Θυμίαμά σοι, Χριστέ ὁ Θεός, προσφέρομεν εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας· ὁ προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιον σου θυσιαστήριον, ἀντικατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ παναγίου σου Πνεύματος». ἅμα καὶ τὸν Θεὸν τιμῶν ὁ ἱερεὺς διὰ τῆς προσαγωγῆς καὶ εὐωδίας τοῦ θυμιάματος, καὶ δεικνύς, ὥς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργεῖ, καὶ ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου ἡ χάρις τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐκκέχυται.

Τί ὁ ἀστερίσκος
δηλοῖ, καὶ τὰ ἱερά
τε καλύμματα, καὶ
ὁ ἀήρ;

107. Διὸ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τὸν ἀστερίσκον θυμιῶν, ὑπεράνω τοῦ ἄρτου τίθῃσιν, ἐπιλέγων «Καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ ἀστήρ ἐλθὼν, ἔσθῃ ἐπάνω οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον» ἐν συμβόλοις δεικνύς τὰ πραχθέντα ἐν τῇ γεννήσει· ἐπεὶ καὶ σπηλαίου καὶ φάτνης τύπον εἰρήκαμεν εἶναι τὴν πρόθεσιν.

108. Εἴτα, τὸ τοῦ δίσκου κάλυμμα λαβὼν, σημαῖνον σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καλύμμασι τὰ σπάργανα, τὰ ψαλμικὰ λέγει, ἃ δηλοῦσι τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Λόγου· «Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο» καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς. καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ἐνὶ ἧ καὶ πλείουσιν, ἐπιλέγων τὰ δηλοῦντα ὁμοίως τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν σάρκωσιν· «Ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς /συνέσεως αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἡ γῆ».

as it is also for the unrepentant who receive communion of the awe-inspiring mysteries, as the divine Paul says.¹⁵⁴

106. Therefore the priest, having completed the prothesis¹⁵⁵ with these <bread particles>, offers incense to God in thanksgiving for what has been accomplished, and for the abiding of the energy of the Spirit. For the incense is a rich figure of this, and the prayer witnesses to this, saying, "We offer incense to You, Christ God, as a sweet fragrance. Having received it on Your supercelestial altar, send down upon us in return the grace of Your all-holy Spirit."¹⁵⁶ At the same time the priest honors God by means of the offering and of the sweet fragrance of the incense, and shows that he also acts through the Spirit, and that from this mystery the grace of the Spirit has been poured out onto the world.

<95.> Why is there incense after the prothesis?

107. Therefore first in honor of the Savior, incensing the asterisk, he places it over the bread, adding, "And behold the star, having come, stood over where the child was,"¹⁵⁷ showing in symbols what was accomplished at the birth, since we have said that the prothesis is a figure of the cave and manger.

<96.> What do the asterisk, the sacred veils, and the aer represent?

108. Then, having taken the veil of the diskos, signifying with the other veils the swaddling clothes, he says the psalm verses which represent the becoming human¹⁵⁸ of the Word: "The Lord reigned, He clothed Himself in dignity,"¹⁵⁹ and what follows. And <taking> the veil for either one chalice or several, words likewise representing the incarnation¹⁶⁰ of the Lord: "His virtue covered the heavens and the earth is filled with His intelligence."¹⁶¹

154 1 Cor 11:29 or Rom 14:23.

155 προσκομιδή, cf. L 25 footnote 34.

156 Brightman 359; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 42. The blessing of incense in the prothesis, whose opening in contemporary usage (Θυμίαμά σοι προσφέρομεν, Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, εἰς ὁσμήν...) has a slightly different phrasing from that reported by Symeon.

157 The verse in contemporary usage accompanying the placement of the asterisk phrased slightly differently: Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ ἀστὴρ ἔστη ἐπάνω, οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον. Brightman 360; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 42; cf. Mt 2:9.

158 Cf. E 8 footnote 15.

159 Symeon here quotes Ps 92 (93):1a. In contemporary usage all of Ps. 92 (93) is recited as the priest places the first veil on the asterisk over the bread; Brightman 360; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 42.

160 Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

161 The verse accompanying the placement of the second veil on the chalice; Brightman 360; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 42; Hab 3:3b.

f 35

109. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ὃς καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καλύπτει ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὡς Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. καὶ τῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῦ ἦτοι τῆς γνώσεως πλήρης ἡ γῆ γεγένηται. σαρκωθέντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ, πᾶσα ἡ γῆ αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ ἐπέγνω καὶ Πνεύματι. || τὸ δὲ ψαλμικὸν τοῦτο ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, εἰ καὶ πολλὰ ἐστὶ τὰ ποτήρια, ἐπιλέγει ἐν γὰρ τὸ προσφερόμενον, καὶ ἐν τὸ ποτήριον, εἰ⁸² καὶ ἐν διαφόροις ὁρᾶται, ὅτι καὶ ἐνὸς τὸ ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐνὸς τὸ αἷμα ἐστὶν.

110. Εἶτα τελευταῖον τὸν ἀέρα θεὸς ὁ ἱερεὺς θυμιάσας, ὃς δὴ καὶ τὸ στερέωμα ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἀστήρ, καὶ τὴν σινδόνα σημαίνει, διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐσμυρνησμένον νεκρὸν πολλάκις περιφέρει τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐπιτάφιος λέγεται, αὐτὸ διδάσκει ἄχρι τέλους καθαρῶς ὡς ἐν πίνακι τὸ μυστήριον. ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ προφητευθεὶς ὡς ἀμνός, καὶ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν ἦλθε, καὶ ἐν σπηλαίῳ καὶ φάτνῃ κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται. καὶ τὰ τοῦ πάθους εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ γεννηθῆναι προετυπώθη ἐν αὐτῷ. καὶ γὰρ ἀστήρ μὲν ἐπέστη αὐτῷ, τοῖς μάγοις αὐτὸν δηλῶν· ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐδίωκε. καὶ Συμεὼν ταῖς χερσὶ λαβὼν, ἐκήρυξεν αὐτὸν εἰς σημεῖον κείσθαι ἀντιλεγόμενον, καὶ ὡς ῥομφαία διελεύσεται τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ Μητρός. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ τοῦ πάθους ὧδε καθυπογράφεται.

111. Θυμιάσας οὖν τὰ ἐν τῇ θεῇ προθέσει δῶρα, ὡς ἀφιερωμένα Θεῷ, καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ προσαχθέντα, καὶ ὡς ἀντίτυπα γεγονότα τοῦ παναγίου σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος, τὴν εὐχὴν τῆς προσκομιδῆς ἐπιλέγει, καὶ τὸν

109. It is Jesus Christ as God who covers the heavens by His virtues. And the earth is¹⁶² full of His intelligence, that is, His knowledge. For when He became incarnate, all the earth recognized Him, with the Father and the Spirit. If there are many chalices, he adds this psalm verse above them all. For what is offered is one and the chalice is one even if it is seen in different ones, because the one body is of one person and the blood is of one person.

110. Then finally, having incensed it, the priest puts on the aer, which indeed signifies both the firmament in which was the star and also the shroud, for this reason it often bears in procession Jesus dead and embalmed, and it is called "epitaphios."¹⁶³ This teaches purely the mystery to its very end, as if on a tablet. Because having been prophesied as a lamb, He came from above the heavens and was born according to the flesh in a cave and <lay> in a manger. And the events of the passion were immediately prefigured in Him at His birth. For a star stood above Him, showing Him to the Magi,¹⁶⁴ and Herod was pursuing. And Symeon, receiving Him in his hands,¹⁶⁵ proclaimed Him to be a sign that is opposed, and that a sword would pierce His Mother's soul.¹⁶⁶ For this reason the events of the passion are also confirmed in this way.

111. So, having incensed the gifts in the divine prothesis as things dedicated to God, as offerings to Him, and as things having become antitypes¹⁶⁷ of both His all-holy body and blood, he adds the prayer of the prothesis,¹⁶⁸

162 Or "has become," γεγένηται < γίγνομαι, Lampe 315, Liddell-Scott 349-350.

163 ἐπιτάφιος "what is on the tomb," Liddell-Scott (ἐπιταφέω) 664; also called an "epiplon" (ἐπιπλον) by Symeon (E 63). In current liturgical usage the great veil or aer (ἀήρ) no longer bears the image of the threnos (θρήνος).

164 Mt 2:1-12.

165 Lk 2:25-28.

166 Lk 2:34-35.

167 Or "symbols," ἀντίτυπα, Lampe 159: "antitypes, symbols, earthly form corresponding to a heavenly reality."

168 Rather confusingly, Symeon here calls the concluding priestly prayer of the preparatory rites ἡ εὐχή τῆς προσκομιδῆς ("the prayer of the proskomidē"), while most of the manuscript tradition and contemporary usage reserves that name for the priestly prayer accompanying the litany immediately after the Great Entrance (Barberini 336 63, 75; Brightman 380-381, 401-402; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 60, 83-84; Taft, *Great Entrance* 352). Generally the prayer concluding the preparatory rites has been called ἡ εὐχή τῆς προθέσεως ("the prayer of the prothesis," *Θεῖαι λειτουργεῖαι*, ed. Doukas, 1526, [CHR] f. B1a, l. 22 [BAS] f. Z1a, l. 14; Brightman 360-361; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 47, 75). Cf. προσκομιδή, cf. L 25 footnote 34.

Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖται τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀποστείλαντα, τὸν ἐπουράνιον ἄρτον, εὐλογῆσαι τὰ προτεθέντα, καὶ προσδέξασθαι ταῦτα εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιον τούτου θυσιαστήριον, μνημονεῦσαί τε τῶν προσενεγκάντων, καὶ τῶν, δι' οὓς ταῦτα προσήγαγον, καὶ τοὺς ἱερουργοῦντας δὲ ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ ἀκατακρίτους διαφυλάξαι.

f 35v 112. Καὶ οὕτω ποιήσας ἀπόλυσιν, αὐτὴν τε τὴν προσκομιδὴν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν σταυροειδῶς θυμιᾷ· εἶτα καὶ τὸ ἱερατεῖον ὅλον· δεικνὺς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρώτην τῶν χαρισμάτων ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις μετάδοσιν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς. καὶ γὰρ εἰδομέν τινας καὶ τὸν ναὸν πάντα καὶ τὸν λαὸν θυμιῶντας. ὅπερ καὶ ὁ ἱερός φησι Διονύσιος, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς λειτουργίας ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὸ θυμίαμα τελεῖται γινόμενον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ, καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀνέρχεται· ἐπεὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ Θεός, τούτου δὲ θρόνος καὶ τόπος τὸ θυσιαστήριον. || διὸ καὶ ἐν παντὶ θυμιάματι οὕτω γίνεται· ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὁ θυμίων γὰρ ἀρχόμενος, πάλιν εἰς αὐτὸ καταλήγει.

PG 289 113. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τύπος Χριστοῦ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πλουτῶν ἐστὶ δύναμιν, καὶ ἔτι πᾶς προστάτης ψυχῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐστὶν εἰκονίζων, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο γίνεται. πρῶτον γὰρ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τὸ θυμίαμα σφραγίζει ὥς προσάγων τοῦτο Θεῷ· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν καὶ τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας πρῶτος αὐτὸς θυμιᾶται· ἔπειτα οἱ λοιποὶ· καὶ μετὰ πάντας, πάλιν αὐτός, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος οὗτος τῶν ἱερῶν πράξεων, καὶ τῶν θείων χαρισμάτων μεταδοτικός· καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν τούτου καὶ ἐν τοῖς χειροτονίαν ἀρχιερατικὴν <οὐκ>⁸³ ἔχουσι /καθηγουμένοις τοῦτο γίνεσθαι ἔθος. τὸ δὲ θυμιᾶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἱερουργίας οὐ μόνον ἔνδον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξωθεν, καὶ ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐστὶν

83 Om. PG, Z, and L (ed. Fountoulis) 338.

and invokes God the Father who has sent us His Son, the heavenly bread, to bless the offerings, to receive them on His supercelestial altar, to remember both those who made the offerings, and those for whom they made the offerings and to keep free from condemnation those doing the sacred-service.¹⁶⁹ § E 65

112. And having done the apolysis in this way, he incenses both the prothesis¹⁷⁰ itself and the sacred altar in the form of a cross, then the entire sanctuary, showing the first sharing of gifts of grace from God to the saints, and through the saints to the rest. For we even know some who also incense both the whole church and the people. The sacred Dionysios says the same, that the incensation taking place before the liturgy is brought out from the altar¹⁷¹ to the whole church and returns to the altar,¹⁷² since the beginning and end of good things is God, whose throne and place is the altar. Therefore in each incensation it occurs this way, for the one incensing starts from the altar and again ends there.

113. Since the bishop is also a figure of Christ and is rich in His power and, further, every leader of souls is a depiction of Christ, this also takes place in them. For first the bishop also seals the incense <with the sign of the cross> inasmuch as he is offering this to God, and, after the sacred altar and the holy icons, he himself is incensed first, then the rest, and after everyone he again, since he is the beginning and end of the sacred actions and the distributor of the divine gifts. And in imitation of this it has also become the custom <to do the same> in the case of monastic superiors who do <not> have episcopal ordination.¹⁷³ The incensation at the beginning of the sacred-service occurs not only inside, but also outside, as we see it done

169 Essentially a paraphrase of the prothesis prayer in the preparatory rites; Brightman 360–361; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 47, 75.

170 προσκομιδή, cf. L 25 footnote 34.

171 The term θυσιαστήριον (Lampe 660), here translated “altar” can also mean “sanctuary.”

172 *Corpus* 2:82; *Works* 212 (PG 3:428D–429A).

173 The manuscripts and published texts have an affirmative participle here, but the context clearly requires a negative. If this particular incensation is customary for bishops, then it would be quite natural that the same custom would apply to monastic

ιδεῖν γινόμενον, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας εἰσόδῳ θυμιατοῦ ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐξερχομένου δι' οὐ ὁ διάκονος καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα, καὶ τοὺς συλλειτουργοῦντας αὐτῷ ἱερωμένους θυμια· ὁ δὲ δηλοῖ τὴν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ χάριν καὶ δωρεὰν ἐκχυθεῖσαν τῷ κόσμῳ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ εὐωδίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν δι' αὐτοῦ ἀναχθεῖσαν. καὶ τοῦτο πάντοτε ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γίνεται.

114. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς προσκομιδῆς οὕτω, ἐν ἣ καὶ πάντες πρεσβύτεροί τε προσφέρουσι περὶ ὧν χρεία, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τὴν ἑορτὴν τελούντων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ ὧν ἀνάγκη λοιπῶν· καὶ οἱ διάκονοι δὲ πάντες διὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. ||

f 35v

115. Οὐδὲ γὰρ θέμις προσφέρειν διακόνους δι' ἑαυτῶν, ἐπεὶ τὸ χάρισμα τὸ προσκομίζειν Θεῷ οὐκ ἔχουσι. διάκονοι γὰρ εἰσι τὴν λειτουργικὴν ἀξίαν⁸⁴ ἔχοντες μόνον. εἰ οὖν οὐ δυνατόν αὐτοῖς ἱερατικὸν ἐνδύσασθαι ἄμφιον δίχα εὐλογίας ἀρχιερέως ἢ ἱερέως,⁸⁵ οὐτ' ἐνάρεξασθαί τινος ἱερᾶς τελετῆς ἄνευ πρεσβυτέρου ἢ εὐλογίας τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, πῶς ἄρα οὗτος δι' ἑαυτοῦ προσκομίσει; καὶ εἰ ὁ κανὼν ἀπαγορεύει διάκονον πρὸ τοῦ ἱερέως μετασχεῖν καὶ τῶν τιμίων δώρων τελειωθέντων, ἵνα τηροῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστος,⁸⁶ || πῶς ἐν τοῖς δώροις προσκομίσει διάκονος;

f 36

116. Διὸ τὸ πρὶν γινόμενον ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ ὄρει τῷ Ἄθῳ, τὸ διακόνους προσφέρειν, οὐκ εὐτακτον οὐδ' ἀρμόδιον. καὶ προσεκτέον τὸ περὶ τούτου. εἴ τις δὲ τῶν διακόνων προσφέρειν βούλοιο Θεῷ μερίδας κατ' ὀφειλὴν, διὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦτο ποιείτω· κατέχοντος μὲν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τὴν

84 Οὐδὲ γὰρ θέμις... τὴν λειτουργικὴν ἀξίαν in left marg. f 35v Z², PG. 85 ἱερέως ἢ ἀρχιερέως, but a β is above ἱερέως and an α is above ἀρχιερέως Z. 86 ἔχοντες μόνον. εἰ οὖν... ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστος, in lower marg. f 35v Z², PG.

in the greatest church of the Thessalonians, at the first entrance of the sacred liturgy, when the incense comes out of the sanctuary. With it the deacon incenses the Gospel and the bishop and the ordained concelebrants with him; this represents the grace from heaven, and the gift poured out on the world through Jesus Christ, and the sweet fragrance of the Spirit, which is also carried up again to heaven through the Spirit. And this always occurs for us through Jesus Christ.

114. So the actions surrounding the prothesis¹⁷⁴ occur in this way, in which all priests offer for those in need and especially for those who are performing the celebration and for the bishop, and for the rest as needed; and all the deacons do so through the priests.

115. For it is not permitted for deacons to make offerings § L 100 on their own, since they do not have the gift of offering the prothesis¹⁷⁵ to God. For deacons have only the "liturgic" dignity. So if it is not possible for them even to put on a priestly vestment without the blessing of a bishop or a priest, nor to begin any sacred rite without a priest or a blessing of the priest, how then could he offer the prothesis by himself? And if the canon forbids a deacon to partake of the holy consecrated gifts before the priest, so that each one might keep to his own order, how could a deacon offer the prothesis of the gifts?

116. Therefore what formerly occurred in Thessalonika § L 100 and now occurs on the holy mountain of Athos, that is, the deacons making offerings, does not follow good order and is not appropriate. And one ought to pay attention to this. If any of the deacons wishes out of duty to offer a particle to God, let him do it through the priest; with the priest holding the prosphora and the lance, saying as he

superiors who are bishops, i.e., those "having episcopal ordination" (τοῖς χειροτονίαν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἔχουσι καθηγουμένοις). It would not be something done by extension and imitation of normal practice (καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν τούτου). Consequently, it seems that Symeon must have intended that the sentence be negative. My gratitude to Fr. Robert Taft and to Fr. Stelyios Muksuris for consulting with me on the meaning and translation of this passage.

174 προσκομιδῇ, cf. L 25 footnote 34.

175 The three occurrences of "offer the prothesis" in this section translate the Greek verb προσκομίζειν, derived from προσκομιδῇ and meaning to perform the ritual preparation of the bread and wine for the Divine Liturgy; cf. L 25 footnote 34.

f 36v, lower marg.

προσφορὰν καὶ τὴν λόγχην, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐξάγειν τὴν μερίδα⁸⁷ || λέγοντος «Πρόσδεξαι, Κύριε, τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεινός», τιμῆς μὲν καὶ μνήμης, ἢ τινος τῶν ἁγίων, ἰλασμοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀφέσεως τινος τῶν ζώντων ἢ τεθνεώτων»· τοῦ διακόνου δὲ ἐν ἐκάστη μερίδι λέγοντος «Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, ὑπὲρ τιμῆς καὶ μνήμης» οὐ βούλεται ἁγίου, ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἐκάστου ὧν χρεῖαν ἔχει· ἢ μᾶλλον ὁ καὶ ἀκριβέστερον λέγειν «Μνήσθητι, δέσποτα», ὑπὲρ ὧν βούλεται. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄδεια τοῦτω ἀναφέρειν πρὸς Θεὸν τὰς φωνάς, παρόντος τοῦ ἱερέως.⁸⁸ ||

f 35v

117.⁸⁹ Εἴτα καιρὸς δίδοται τῆς ἐνάρξεως τῆς λειτουργίας παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν διακόνων. οὐδὲ γὰρ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ τι πράττεσθαι δυνατόν, καὶ ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰησοῦς τοῦτό φησι «Χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν». ὁ μὲν οὖν διάκονος τὸν ἱερέα εὐλογεῖν προσκαλεῖται· ὁ ἱερεὺς δὲ εὐλογεῖ τὸν Θεόν, αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ τὴν προσκομιδὴν ἐν τῇ προθέσει ποιήσας· καὶ οὕτω τὰ ἀκόλουθα γίνεται, ὥς καὶ πλατύτερον ἐν τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ τῆς λειτουργίας κατὰ δύναμιν ἡρμηνεύσαμεν.

Τίνα τυποὶ ὁ
f 36
ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ
τίνας οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ;
PG 292
Τί τὸ ἅγιον δηλοῖ
βῆμα, καὶ τί ἡ ἱερὰ
τράπεζα;

118. Καὶ συνοπτικώτερον ὥδε λέγομεν, ὥς οἱ μὲν ἔνδον τοῦ βήματος ἱερεῖς || τὰς ἐπουρανίους πρώτας δηλοῦσι /τάξεις, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς δὲ τὸν Κύριον, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ὑπουργήσαντας ἀγγέλους τῇ θεῇ σαρκώσει, καὶ τοὺς θεοκήρυκας ἀποστόλους.

119. Καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν βῆμα τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων τυποὶ τὰ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἡ ἱερὰ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν θρόνον, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ σεβάσμιον μνῆμα· ὁ ναὸς τε τὰ ἐπουράνια ἅμα καὶ τὸν παράδεισον· καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ οἱ νάρθηκες τὴν κτίσιν δι' ἡμᾶς τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς.

87 πῶς ἐν τοῖς δώροις... ἐξάγειν τὴν μερίδα in lower marg. f 36 Z², PG. 88 λέγοντος «Πρόσδεξαι, Κύριε,... παρόντος τοῦ ἱερέως] in lower marg. Z f. 36v Z², PG. Θεὸν τὰς ... παρόντος τοῦ ἱερέως illegible in Z. 89 In Z, text continues on f 35v, l. 21.

removes the particle, "Receive, Lord, this sacrifice in honor and memory of N. or St. N., in propitiation and remission of the living N. or the deceased N.,"¹⁷⁶ while the deacon says for each particle, "Remember, Lord, in honor and memory of..." whichever saint he wishes, or for the remission of each one having need, or rather to say more precisely, "Remember, Master, N.," for whomever he wishes. For it is not taking liberties for him to offer up to God such words with a priest present.¹⁷⁷

<D. The Enarxis>

117. Then the moment to begin the liturgy is given to the first of the deacons by the bishop. For without him it is not possible to do anything, and the great high priest Jesus says, "Without me you can do nothing."¹⁷⁸ The deacon calls on the priest to give the blessing and the priest who has done the prothesis¹⁷⁹ in the prothesis blesses God, and what follows takes place thus, as we explained more fully, according to our ability, in the interpretation of the liturgy.¹⁸⁰

§ E 43, L 8, L 120

118. And in a more condensed way we say here that the priests in the sanctuary represent the first celestial orders: the bishop represents the Lord, and those with him represent the angels who rendered service at the divine incarnation¹⁸¹ and the God-announcing apostles.

<97> Whom do the bishop and those with him typify?

119. And because the sanctuary typifies the holy of holies above the heavens and heaven itself, whereas the sacred altar typifies God's throne, the Resurrection of Christ, and the venerable tomb, the church thus typifies both the celestial realm and paradise, and the things at the end of the church and narthex¹⁸² typify the creation of the earth for us and all that is on earth.

<98> What do the holy sanctuary and the sacred altar represent?

§ E 16

176 A fifteenth-century phrasing of commemorations found in the Manuscript Vat. gr. 573 (fourteenth-fifteenth cent., Krasnosel'cev 99-101). Cf. E 107 footnote 182.

177 L 115-116 is found both in the lower margin of Z ff 35v-36 and in PG. It is one of the few marginalia not in the scribal hand (Z') to be included in the PG text; cf. L 15-16.

178 Jn 15:5.

179 προσκομιδή, cf. L 25 footnote 34.

180 Here Symeon is referring to E, the earlier commentary.

181 Cf. E 9 footnote 17.

182 Or "the narthexes" (οἱ νάρθηκες).

120. Τὸ δὲ κατελθεῖν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὡς πρὸς δυσμὰς τὰ ἀρχιερατικὰ περιβεβλημένον τὸ σαρκωθέντα τὸν Κύριον εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ κατωτέρου μέρους τῆς γῆς ἄδου ἔλθεῖν σὺν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῖς ἁγίοις, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα καθελεῖν τοῦ σκότους, καὶ τὰς κατεχομένας ἐκεῖσε τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ψυχὰς ῥύσασθαι. διὸ καὶ ἡ πρώτη εἰσόδος τὸ κατελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς γῆν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ ἐγερθῆναι καὶ ἀναληφθῆναι σημαίνει· ὅτι καὶ πρῶτον κατελθὼν ἐπὶ γῆς τοῦτο πεποίηκεν.

121. Ὅθεν καὶ πρότερον τῆς εἰσόδου τὰ ἀντίφωνα ψάλλεται, καὶ τρία ταῦτα εἰς τιμὴν τῆς Τριάδος· καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ τὸν Θεὸν τεκοῦσα, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αἱ τάξεις. καὶ ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὕστερον ἀνυμνεῖται. ἐπεὶ οὗτος ὁ εἰς τῆς Τριάδος σαρκωθείς, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ Μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐξελέξατο, καὶ τοὺς χοροὺς τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ πρέσβεις εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα παράκλητος, ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκωθείς. τοὺς προφῆτας δὲ δηλοῦσιν οἱ τὰ προφητικά ἀνυμνοῦντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ προφῆται τὸν Χριστὸν προεκήρυξαν.

122. Οἱ ἱερεῖς δὲ σὺν εὐταξίᾳ τοῦ βήματος ἐξεληθόντες, τὰς πρῶτας τῶν ἀγγέλων θείας τυποῦσι τάξεις, πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἐρχόμενοι, τὴν ἐπὶ Χριστῷ χαρὰν διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ νίκην τῇ ἀναστάσει καὶ ἀναλήψει δηλοῦντες, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπάντησιν· ὅτε καὶ πρῶτον κλίναντος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ πάντων ἱερέων τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ εὐχομένων προδήλως σημαίνεται, ὡς ὁ Κύριος κατήλθε μέχρις ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐτεθνήκει καὶ τέθαπται, καὶ εἰς ἄδου κατέβη.

f 36v

123. Ἐπειτα μετὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ἀναστάντων, ἢ δηλοῦται ἡ ἔγερσις, ἣν καὶ ὑψούμενον τὸ ἱερόν Εὐαγγέλιον ὁμοίως παριστᾷ· καὶ ἡ φωνὴ δὲ τοῦ διακόνου, τὸ «Σοφία! Ὁρθοί!». ἀνώρθωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀναστὰς ὁ Κύριος καὶ ἀνύψωσε. διὸ καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ γίνεται ἐντεῦθεν προπομπή τε καὶ εὐφημία καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τότε Χριστοῦ ἀναγομένου «Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δοξης;»

120. The descent of the bishop to the west¹⁸³ once he has put on the episcopal vestments typifies the incarnate Lord coming down to earth and even to Hades, the deepest part of the earth, together with the holy angels, destroying the prince of darkness and saving¹⁸⁴ the souls held there for ages. For this reason the first entrance also signifies His descending to earth, dying, being raised and ascending on high, because having first descended to earth, He accomplished this. § E 43, L 8, L 117

121. Therefore before the entrance the antiphons are sung, being three in honor of the Trinity. In them, She who bore God and the orders of saints <are praised in song>; and later, the only-begotten Son of God. For He who is the one of the Trinity who is incarnate chose His Mother for us and the choirs of the saints, and they are mediators on our behalf. And He who became incarnate on our behalf is our advocate to the Father. Those singing the prophetic verses represent the prophets, since the prophets also foretold Christ. § E 44-45

122. The priests coming out of the sanctuary in proper order typify the first divine orders of the angels. The priests come toward the bishop, representing the joy over Christ for His victory on the cross by the Resurrection and Ascension, and His coming to meet them; and when the bishop first bows and all the priests bow their heads, praying in full view, it signifies that the Lord descended to us, died, was buried, and descended into Hades. § E 46

123. Then, when they stand upright after the prayer, the Resurrection is represented, which likewise is also represented by the sacred Gospel being raised, as the call of the deacon, "Wisdom! Stand!" also does. For the risen Lord restored us and lifted us up. Therefore the processional escort and acclamation of His Ascension takes place at this time, just as the angels said then of Christ ascending, "Who is this king of glory?"¹⁸⁵

183 This "descent," absent in modern usage, is a relatively rare feature found in few sources; cf. "The Liturgy in Symeon's Commentaries" above in the present edition, pp. 26-27.

184 Or "delivering," δύναι Lampe 1219.

185 Ps 23 (24):8.

PG 293

124. Διὸ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀνερχόμενος, τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκτυπῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνερχόμενον, εὐφημεῖται. καὶ τὸ «Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, δέσποτα», οἱ ὑπηρέται λέγουσι, μαρτυροῦντες ὡς οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς δι' αὐτῶν εὐφημεῖται, ὁ καὶ τὴν εὐσεβῆ βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καταστησάμενος. διὸ καὶ τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς φέρων, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς εὐφημεῖται μᾶλλον δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ Χριστός. καὶ προπέμπεται, καὶ παρακρατεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν διακόνων ὡς ὑπ' ἀγγέλων· καὶ προῦ/παντᾶται ὁμοίως ὑπὸ ψαλτῶν, καὶ εὐφημεῖται.

125. Καὶ κλείονται αἱ πύλαι, διὰ τὸ «Ἄρατε πύλας»· καὶ ἀσπαζομένον ταύτας τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπεὶ Χριστὸς ἡ θύρα τῶν⁹⁰ ἄνω καὶ τῆς ζωῆς⁹¹ ἀνοίγονται, ὁ Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν τὴν εἴσοδον εἰς τὰ ἅγια διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ εὐλόγει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τοὺς τὰς πύλας ἀνοίγοντας, ὅτι Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ Χριστός.

126. Καὶ θυμῷ εὐθὺς τὸ θυσιαστήριον κύκλῳ, ὅτι θρόνος τοῦτο Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνάπαυσις. καὶ αὐτὸν τυποῖ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐσφαγμένον καὶ ζῶντα, καὶ νοητῶς ἐκεῖσε θυόμενον κείμενον, καὶ ἀπαύστως ἱερουργούμενον.

127. Καὶ τὸν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ θρόνον Θεοῦ, τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς καθέδραν Χριστοῦ· ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς σημαίνοντα. ἔνθα καὶ αἱ βαθμίδες τὰς ἀναβάσεις καὶ τάξεις τῶν τε ἀγγέλων σημαίνουνσι, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, ἐν αἷς καὶ οὐ διάκονοι κάθηνται.

128. Εἶτα μετὰ τὸ θυμίαμα ἡ εὐφημία βασιλέων τε καὶ ἀρχιερέων, ἐπειδὴ τελέσας τὴν οἰκονομίαν Χριστὸς καὶ ἀναληφθεὶς, ἀρχιερεῖς εὐσεβεῖς, καὶ βασιλεῖς δι' αὐτῶν πιστοὺς συνεστήσατο.

90 After τῶν add προβάτων τῶν PG.
ἄνω καὶ τῆς ζωῆς) PG.

91 Add parentheses (ἐπεὶ Χριστὸς ἡ θύρα τῶν

124. Therefore the bishop also ascending, typifying § E 48
 Jesus ascending to heaven, is acclaimed. And the ministers
 say, "For many years, master," witnessing that, it is not a
 man being acclaimed by them, but Jesus the Christ, the
 great king and high priest, who has established His
 pious¹⁸⁶ empire on earth and His priesthood. Therefore
 the bishop bearing His grace is acclaimed as Christ, or
 rather Christ through him, as we said. And he is escorted
 in procession and is supported by the deacons as if by
 angels, and he is met by the psalmists coming forward,
 and is acclaimed.

125. The doors are closed because of the verse, "Lift up § E 49
 the gates,"¹⁸⁷ and when the bishop kisses them, since
 Christ is the door of those on high and the door of life,
 they are opened, for Christ gives us entrance into the holy
 things through the veil of His flesh.¹⁸⁸ And the bishop
 blesses those who open the doors, because Christ is the
 Lord of powers.

126. And he immediately incenses around the altar, § E 50
 because it is the throne of God and His repose. And he typ-
 ifies Christ, slain yet living, who, spiritually¹⁸⁹ sacrificed, is
 lying here, and is ceaselessly offered in the sacred-service.

127. And <he incenses> the raised throne of God in the § E 54
 east signifying the seat of Christ in heaven at the right
 hand of the Father. The steps there signify the ascents and
 the ranks of the angels and the more lofty sacred men.
 And the deacons do not sit on the steps.

128. Then, after the incensation, there is the acclamation
 of both sovereigns and bishops, since Christ, having
 indeed completed the economy <of salvation> and
 ascended, established His pious¹⁹⁰ bishops and through
 them faithful sovereigns.

186 Cf. E 1 footnote 2.

187 Ps 23 (24):9.

188 Heb 10:19-20.

189 νοητός (E 17, E 104, E 108), Liddell-Scott 1178: "falling within the province of νοῦς, mental, opp. φαιτός and ὁρατός"; Lampe § II, 918-919: "I. intelligible, within the sphere of νοῦς, apprehended by the intellect; II. spiritual, belonging to the supra-sensible and spiritual order; III. intelligent, thinking; IV. belonging to the mind." A synonym of νοερός; cf. E 32 footnote 43 and L 86.

190 Cf. E 1 footnote 2.

f 37

129. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δικηρίῳ σφραγίζει τὸ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, τὰς δύο τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ ἄρχιερεὺς δηλῶν φύσεις ὡς τῇ ὑποστάσει εἷς ἐστὶν ἀδιαίρετος. καὶ τῷ τρικηρίῳ πάλιν ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν τρισάγιον, εἰς τὸ «Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι», ὅτι τρία τοῖς προσώποις, καὶ ἐν τῇ φύσει, ἡ Τριάς ἐστίν, ἧς καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν ὡς φῶς καὶ τοῦ διφυοῦς τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς Τριάδος σεσαρκωμένου τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἔλαμψεν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ. καὶ εὐχεται καταρτισθῆναι τοῦτο ὡς ἄμπελον ζῶσαν, ζωογονοῦσάν τε καὶ εὐφραίνουσαν καὶ ἄνωθεν φυτευθεῖσαν.

130. Ἐπειτα καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σύνθρονον ἄνοδος καὶ καθέδρα γίνεται, τὸν τύπον σώζουσα τοῦ ἀνελθόντος εἰς οὐρανούς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐκ δεξιῶν τε τοῦ Πατρὸς καθίσαντος.

131. Καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἡ θεία ἀνάγνωσις, ὅτι ἀνελθὼν Χριστός, τοὺς μαθητὰς ἀπέστειλε κηρύξαι τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τὸν Κύριον.

132. Εἶτα τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπ' ἄμβωνος μετὰ τὸ ἀλληλουῖα κηρύττεται Εὐαγγέλιον, ὅτι τοῦτο ἀπελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι· ὅτι δὲ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὰ εὐαγγελικὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς λειτουργὸς Χριστοῦ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐν τῷ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἐκβάλλει τὸ ὠμοφόριον.

133. Ἀλλὰ καὶ δίδωσιν εἰρήνην τῷ ἀναγνόντι, καὶ εὐλογίαν πρότερόν τε καὶ ὕστερον· τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ δύναμιν λαβεῖν τοῦ κηρύξαι, τὴν δὲ εἰς ἀντιμισθίαν τοῦ ἔργου, ὡς καὶ τῷ ἀναγνώσαντι πρότερον τὰ ἀποστολικά ῥήματα εἰρήνην παρέχει καὶ εὐλογίαν· πλὴν οὐ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέως ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι τότε τάξιν ἔχουσιν ἀποστόλων, ὁ πρῶτος ἀρχιερεὺς δὲ τὴν τάξιν ἔχει Χριστοῦ. διὸ αὐτὸς μὲν εἰρηνεύει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ὡς τὸν τύπον ἔχων Χριστοῦ· ἐκείνοι δὲ τὸν ἀπόστολον ὡς τύπον σώζοντες ἀποστόλων. καὶ οὐδὲ

129. And after this the bishop seals <with the sign of the cross> the sacred Gospel with a dikirion, representing the two natures of Christ who is one undivided in his hypostasis. And he does so again with the trikirion during the singing of the Trisagion, at the "Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit," because the Trinity is of three persons and one in nature. And the Gospel has shone forth the knowledge of the twin natures of the incarnate one of the Trinity like light in the whole world. And he prays for <the Gospel> to be restored like a living vine, life-giving, gladdening, and planted on high.¹⁹¹

<E. The Liturgy of the Word>

130. Then the going up to the sacred synthronon and seat takes place, which preserves the figure of Jesus Christ, who ascended to heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father. § E 54

131. And immediately the divine reading of the epistle occurs, because Christ, having ascended, sent forth the apostles to proclaim the Lord throughout the whole world. § E 55

132. Then, after the alleluia, the sacred Gospel is proclaimed from the ambo, because the apostles, going forth, proclaimed this. And because the proclamation is of Jesus Christ and the words of the Gospel are those of Christ Himself, as a servant of Christ, the bishop takes off his omophorion during the reading. § E 56

133. But he also gives the lector peace and a blessing both before and after <the reading>; first, to receive the power to proclaim the Gospel and then, the blessing in recompense for having done so, just as earlier he provides the one who read the apostles' words with peace and a blessing. However, he himself does not give the peace <to the reader of the epistle>, but through the first bishop or priest under him, because these have then the rank of apostles, while the first bishop has the rank of Christ. Therefore he himself greets the Gospel with peace, because he has the image of Christ, while those others greet the epistle with peace because they preserve the

¹⁹¹ The bishop's blessing after the Trisagion in the Divine Liturgy, *Ἀρχιερατικόν* 12, cf. Ps. 79 (80): 15–16.

ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν⁹² τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν· ἀλλ' εὐλογίαν λαβόντες τὴν εἰρήνην λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς εἰρήνης ἰδίον ἐστὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ κληρονομία ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταληφθεῖσα.

PG 296

134. Εὐθὺς δὲ τὸ κατελθεῖν τὸν ἀρχιερέα /τοῦ συνθρόνου δηλοῖ καὶ εὐλογεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλείων, ὅτι νικήσας τὸν κόσμον τῷ κηρύγματι ὁ Χριστός, τὴν εὐσεβῆ βασιλείαν ἐξ ἀπιστίας εἰς πίστιν ἐκάλεσε καὶ συνεστήσατο· || καὶ εὐλόγησε, καὶ εὐλογῶν ἐστὶ διὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης.

f 37v

135. Εἶτα ἡ τῶν κατηχουμένων ἐξέλευσις, δηλοῦσα τὸν χωρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀπὸ τῶν δικαίων μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ἐν τῷ τέλει τῶν αἰώνων. μετὰ τὸ κηρυχθῆναι γὰρ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι «Τότε ἦξει» φησὶ «τὸ τέλος».

136. Διὸ καὶ μετὰ τοὺς κατηχουμένους ἡ δευτέρα μεγάλη εἴσοδος, δηλοῦσα τὴν μετὰ δόξης ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ δευτέραν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν. ὅθεν καὶ μετὰ δορυφορίας αὕτη γίνεται πλείστης, διὰ τὸ τῆς δόξης ἐκείνης τοῦ Κυρίου λαμπρόν, μεθ' ἧς τότε ἐλεύσεται. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὠμοφόριον ἔμπροσθεν τὸν σταυρὸν ἔχον κατέχεται, τὸ σημεῖον ἐμφαίνον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὃ τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φανήσεται ἔμπροσθεν, ὡς γέγραπται· εἶτα λαμπαδηφόροι καὶ δορυφόροι, καὶ προπεμπόμενος διὰ τῶν μυστηρίων Χριστός, ὁ ἐπουράνιος ἄρτος, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τῆς διηνεκοῦς εὐφροσύνης, ἡ ζωτικὴ τε καὶ ἀδαπάνητος θυμηδία· ὅς καὶ ὡς ἐσφαγμένος διὰ τοῦ ἁμνοῦ καθορᾶται τότε ὅτι καὶ ζῶν καὶ μεμωλωπισμένος ὀφθήσεται. ὀψονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν, εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, οἱ θεοκτόνοι δηλονότι, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύσαντες, εὐφρανθησόμεθα ἐν αὐτῷ. τῷ γὰρ μῶλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν.

image of apostles. And not on their own <authority> do they do this, but they say the peace after receiving a blessing, because the word of peace is a characteristic of Christ and the inheritance He left to us.

134. The bishop descending immediately from the synthronon represents <Christ> blessing the sovereigns because Christ, who after conquering the world by proclaiming <the Gospel>, called His pious¹⁹² empire from unbelief to faith and established it. He blessed it and is blessing it still through the episcopacy. § E 58

135. Then the dismissal of the catechumens takes place, § E 59 representing the separation of the sinners from the just after the preaching of the Gospel at the end of the ages. For after the Gospel has been preached in all the world as a witness to all peoples, scripture says, "Then the end will come."¹⁹³

<F. The Liturgy of the Eucharist>

136. For this reason, after the dismissal of the catechumens, the second, the Great Entrance occurs, representing the second appearance of Christ in glory from heaven. Therefore this occurs with a numerous escort, because of the radiance of this glory of the Lord with which He will come then. The omophorion with the cross on it is also carried in front, displaying the sign of Jesus which will then appear from heaven beforehand, as it is written.¹⁹⁴ Then come candle-bearers and honor guards and, escorted in the mysteries, Christ the heavenly bread¹⁹⁵ and the chalice of continuous joy, the living and inexhaustible delight, the One who is perceived as slain through the lamb, then will be seen to be both living and scourged. For they, that is, the God-killers, will look upon Him whom they pierced,¹⁹⁶ while we who believe in Him shall rejoice in Him, for by His wounds we were healed.¹⁹⁷ § E 57, E 64

192 Cf. E 1 footnote 2.

193 Mt 24:14.

194 Cf. Mt 24:30-31.

195 Cf. Wis. 16:20 (LXX).

196 Jn 19:37; cf. Zech 12:10.

197 1 Pet 2:24.

137. Εἴτα κλείονται μὲν αἱ θύραι, ὅτι τάξεις καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, καὶ οὐ θεωρητὰ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις καὶ κατωτέρω⁹³ τὰ ὑψηλά, οὐδὲ πᾶσι γνωστὰ τὰ μυστήρια, ἐπεὶ καὶ τότε κεκαλυμμένος ἔσται πολλοῖς, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνοιγόμενος ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

138. Εἴτα αἱ πύλαι ἀνοίγονται, ὥς καὶ τότε τοῖς προκόπτουσι καὶ τελεωτέροις ἡ θεωρία ἀνάλογος ἔσται. καὶ τῆς ὁμολογίας κηρυχθείσης, καὶ τοῦ συμβόλου τῆς πίστεως παρὰ πάντων ἀνωμολογηθέντος, τὰ τῆς ἀγάπης ἀγγέλοις τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις διὰ τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐνώσεως γίνεται τε καὶ δείκνυνται· ὅτι καὶ ὁμόνοια ἔσται τότε, καὶ πάντες φίλοι καὶ ἀγαπητοὶ ἔσονται. καὶ Ἰησοῦς τὸ κάλλιστον ἱερεῖον μέσον ἔσται πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ, εἰρήνη πάντων || ὧν καὶ ἐνότης, καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἱερουργούμενος, καὶ ἐνὼν πάντας, καὶ ἐνούμενος πᾶσι· πλὴν ἀναλόγως· οὐ γὰρ πάντες ἀμέσως τούτου μεθέξουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀκραιφνῶς, καὶ παραπετασμάτων χωρὶς, ἐγγὺς ἔσονται, καὶ ὥσπερ ἱερουργοὶ καὶ τῶν τελεωτέρων ἀπτόμενοι.

f 38
Ὅτι ὥς καὶ ἐν
οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ
γῆς κατὰ τάξιν
ἴστανται καὶ
κοινωνοῦσι τῶν
μυστηρίων, ἐν τε τῷ
βήματι καὶ ἐκτός,
ἱερωμένοι καὶ
λαϊκοί.
PG 297

139. Καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῖ ἐνταῦθα ὁ πρῶτος ἀρχιερεὺς, πλησιάζων τε καὶ ἀπτόμενος, καὶ θύων τὰ μυστικά, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν τυθέντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκτυπούμενος· οἱ δέ, διὰ μεσίτου αὐτοῦ μετέχοντές τε καὶ ἀπολαύοντες. ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῷ βήματι οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τε καὶ ἱερεῖς εἰ καὶ συλλειτουργοί, ὅμως οὐκ ἐγγίζουσιν ὥς ὁ πρῶτος. ἕτεροι δὲ πάλιν τῶν ἱερῶν μετ' αὐτοὺς ὑποδεεστέραν ἔχουσι τάξιν, καὶ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν δύνανται, καὶ ὕστερον ἔρχονται πρὸς τὴν φρικτὴν κοινωνίαν, ὥς οἱ τῆς λειτουργικῆς διάκονοι καὶ καθαρτικῆς⁹⁴ τά/ξεως.

140. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν πυλῶν ἄλλοι, ὑποδιάκονοι τε καὶ σὺν τοῖς⁹⁵ ἀναγνώσταις οἱ ὑμνωδοί· μεθ' οὓς πάλιν κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος, ὥς προέχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ. καὶ μετὰ τούτους κατὰ τάξιν αὐθις οἱ λαϊκοί· οὐδὲ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἐπίσης· οἱ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ἴστανται, οἱ δὲ μετανοοῦντές εἰσιν. ἃ δὴ πάντα ἐκάστου τῶν μετεχόντων Θεοῦ τὴν τε τάξιν δηλοῖ καὶ ἀνάβασιν, καὶ τὸ ἀρμόδιον καὶ πρέπον τῆς κοινωνίας.

93 κατωτέροις L (ed. Fountoulis) 352, l. 1299.
Z². 95 αὐτοῖς PG.

94 καὶ καθαρτικῆς om. PG; in right marg.

137. Then the doors are closed, because such is also the order in the age to come, and the lofty things are not seen by the inferior ones who are below, nor are the mysteries known to all, since even then Jesus will be concealed to many and revealed gradually. § E 70

138. Then the doors are opened, just as then too the vision will be proportionate to those making progress and those more perfect. And when the creed has been proclaimed and the profession of faith acknowledged by everyone, love to angels and men through the kiss and unity <among them> both occur and are shown, because then there will also be accord and everyone will be friends and beloved. And Jesus will be the most beautiful sacrificial victim in the midst of all His saints,¹⁹⁸ being the peace and unity of all, priest and victim offered in the sacred-service,¹⁹⁹ uniting all and being united to them, though in proportion. For not all will share in Him directly, but some in a pure manner, without veils will come near, like those carrying out the sacred-service partaking of what is more perfect.

139. And the first bishop represents this there, drawing near, partaking, and sacrificing the mystical things, himself typifying Him who was sacrificed for us, with the others partaking and benefiting through his mediation. Therefore in the sanctuary neither the <other> bishops nor the priests, even if they are concelebrants, approach as the first one does. Others of the sanctuary in turn have an inferior rank after these, and are not able to say the same words, and come later to the awe-inspiring communion, like the deacons of the liturgic and cathartic²⁰⁰ order.

140. After these, others receive before the sacred doors — the subdeacons, the cantors with the lectors, and after them those of the monastic habit, who are first among the people. And after them, in turn according to rank, come the laity. Nor are these all equal. For some are in good standing and others are doing penance. Everything about each of those partaking of God represents the order and ascent and fitting propriety of communion.

<99.> That, as in heaven, so on earth, they stand and receive communion from the mysteries according to their order, in the sanctuary and outside, ordained and laity.

§ E 29, L 152

§ L 95, 153

198 Cf. the ordinary (non-festive) greeting between concelebrants: Ὁ Χριστός ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἡμῶν. Καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται ("Christ is in our midst." "He both is and shall be"), *Ἀρχιερατικόν* 22.

199 Cf. prayer of the Cherubic hymn; Brightman 377–378; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 57–58, 82–83.

200 Or "purifying." Liddell-Scott (καθάριστος/καθαριστικός) 851; Lampe 686.

141. Ὁ ἀσπασμός δὲ σὺν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς πίστεως, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ συμφωνίαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην δηλοῖ καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην.

142. Μετὰ δέ γε τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἡ τῶν μυστηρίων ἱερουργία τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ Πνεύματος γίνεται. ὅτι μία ἡ δύναμις τῆς Τριάδος, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ σαρκωθέντος, ὁ Πατὴρ εὐδοκῶν ἦν, ὁ Υἱὸς δὲ αὐτουργῶν, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα συνεργοῦν τὸ πανάγιον.

143. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἡ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀνάμνησις διὰ τὸ σωτηριῶδες τῆς θυσίας. καὶ τῶν ἁγίων δὲ ἡ ἀνακήρυξις, ὅτι συνέπαθον αὐτῷ, καὶ νῦν συνδοξάζονται. ἑξαιρέτως δὲ ἡ τῆς παναγίας καὶ μόνης Θεοτόκου ἀνάμνησις, ὅτι καὶ νῦν καὶ τότε τὸ κοινόν ἐστι παντὸς κόσμου σωτήριον· ἦν καὶ πάντες ἀνυμνοῦμεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ δι' αὐτῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζομεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν || μνήμην ἀπάντων ἡ αἵτησις παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὥσπερ ἐπισφράγισμα τῶν αἰτήσεων ἀπασῶν, ὥστε δοῦναι «ἐν ἐνὶ στόματι καὶ μιᾷ καρδίᾳ» αὐτὸν δοξάζειν τὸν ἐν Τριάδι Θεόν, καὶ τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ σαρκωθέντος καὶ τυθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ

141. The kiss together with the profession of faith represents agreement in the profession of God, in peace, and in love. § E 71

142. After the kiss, the sacred-service of the mysteries takes place through the invocation²⁰¹ of the Spirit, because the power of the Trinity is one, and when the Son became incarnate, the Father consented, the Son worked on His own, and the all-holy Spirit collaborated. § E 75, E 78-89

143. After the sacred-service,²⁰² the commemoration of all through the saving element of the sacrifice and the proclamation of the saints occur because they suffered along with Him and now are glorified with Him. Especially the all-holy and only Theotokos is commemorated, because both now and then, salvation is the same for the whole world. We all sing Her praises, since through Her we hope for salvation.²⁰³ After the commemoration of all, the petition by the bishop as a final seal on the petitions of all, <asks> to grant that "with one mouth and one heart"²⁰⁴ we may glorify Him, God in the Trinity and prays that the mercies of the One who was incarnate and was sacrificed for us, § E 76

201 Cf. E 75 footnote 125.

202 As noted in E 91 footnote 160, Symeon considers that the *ιερουργία* (sacred-service) is now completed, even though the anaphora has not yet been completed.

203 Symeon refers to various components of the anaphora following the invocation (*ἐπίκλησις*) of the Holy Spirit (CHR: Brightman 386-387, *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 64-65; BAS: Brightman 406, *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 89-90). The archbishop mentions these elements in the reverse order of their occurrence in both CHR and BAS. 1) Ἡ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνάμνησις ("the commemoration of all") would seem to be the commemoration of all the departed, which follows commemoration of the saints. 2) Next Symeon mentions this preceding commemoration of St. John the Baptist, the apostles, the saint of the day, and all other saints. 3) Finally he refers clearly to the troparia, which are sung in the liturgy to the Virgin Mary, using the opening word of the priestly introduction to the troparia, *Ἐξαιρέτως* ("Especially"). In CHR and BAS the community begins singing this troparion before 1) and 2) and continues singing it while the priest prays 1) for all the departed and 2) in commemoration of the saints.

CHR: 1) Brightman 388, right col., ll. 20-23; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 66, l. 12-16; 2) Brightman 388, right col., ll. 12-19; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 66, ll. 8-12; 3) Brightman 388, ll. 4-5, then left col., ll. 6-18; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 65, l. 35-66, l. 2.

BAS: 1) Brightman 407, l. 1-5; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 91, l. 3-6; 2) Brightman 406, ll. 29-407, l. 1; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 90, l. 30-91, l. 3; 3) Brightman 406, ll. 24-25; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 90, l. 22-27.

204 Conclusion of the anaphora (CHR and BAS): Brightman 390, 409-410; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 67, 93.

ἱερουργηθέντος καὶ προκειμένου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ εἶναι πάντοτε μεθ' ὑμῶν.

144. Ἐπειτα τὴν τῆς υἰοθεσίας χάριν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ ἱεράρχης προσεύχεται, καὶ ἐξαιτεῖται καταξιωθῆναι ἡμᾶς, διὰ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν Υἱοῦ ἤδη τεθυμένου τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ προκειμένου, καλεῖν ἡμᾶς Πατέρα, τοὺς φύσει κτίσματά τε καὶ δούλους, τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἐπουράνιον.

145. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν προσευχὴν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν κλίσιν τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἃ δὴ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν δουλείαν δηλοῦσι καὶ ἔνωσιν, ἡ τοῦ ζωηφόρου ἄρτου γίνεται ὑψωσις, αὐτὴν τυποῦσα τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος σταύρωσιν· καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἡμῖν μεταδοῦναι, ὅτι καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σταυρωθεὶς, καὶ αὐτὸν δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν μυστικῶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πεπονθότα.

146. Διὸ καὶ «Πρόσχωμεν»,⁹⁶ ἐκβοᾷ, ὥστε γινῶναι ἡμᾶς τὸ μυστήριον. καὶ ἐπάγει «Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις»· δηλῶν, ὡς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ἅγιος, καὶ οἱ τούτου μέτοχοι ἅγιοι ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι, καὶ πίστει πάντες βοῶσιν «Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός» τὴν ὁμολογίαν λέγοντες, ἥτις ἔσται καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, ὡς Παῦλος φησι.

147. Διὰ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σαρκωθέντος καὶ σταυρωθέντος ἡγιασθημέν τε καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἐρρύσθημεν, καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἐτύχομεν· ὅς καὶ τότε ἔσται ἡμῖν θεωρία τε καὶ ἀπόλαυσις, ὅτι ἀπεθάνομεν πρότερον μὲν, ἰσοθεῖα κλαπέντες, καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν ἀθάνατοι καὶ θεοὶ γενέσθαι ζητοῦντες, θνητοὶ⁹⁷ γεγόναμεν· νῦν δὲ ἀνέστημεν, καὶ ζῶμεν, καὶ

⁹⁶ Προσέχωμεν PG.

⁹⁷ θνητοὶ om PG.

who has been offered in the sacred-service and is lying before us, Jesus Christ, the great God, might be with us always.²⁰⁵

144. Then the hierarch prays for the grace of adoption in us, and asks that we, who are by nature creatures and servants, be deemed worthy through the Son according to nature, already sacrificed in the mysteries and lying before us,²⁰⁶ to call the heavenly God "Father."²⁰⁷

145. After the prayer,²⁰⁸ the peace,²⁰⁹ and the bowing of the head,²¹⁰ all of which indeed represent servitude to God and unity, the elevation of the life-bearing bread takes place, which typifies the crucifixion of the Savior for us, the coming of Christ, and His sharing Himself with us, because it is He who was crucified for us. It also shows to us mystically Him who suffered for us. § E 92-94

146. Therefore <the deacon> also cries out, "Let us be attentive!" so that we perceive the mystery. And <the main celebrant> adds, "The holy things for the holy,"²¹¹ representing that the crucified One is holy, and that the partakers of Him should take care to be holy; and all cry out in faith the confession, saying, "One holy, one Lord, Jesus Christ,"²¹² the same as will be said in the age to come, as Paul says.²¹³ § E 92-94

147. For through this only-begotten Son, who was incarnate and crucified, we were sanctified and delivered from death and have been granted immortality. He will then be both our contemplation and benefit, because we died earlier, destroyed <by the desire for> equality with God and seeking out of the proper time to become immortal and gods, we became mortal, but now we have risen and

205 Opening greeting of the precommunion rites (CHR and BAS), *ibid.*

206 Prayer of the precommunion litany in CHR: Brightman 390; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 67-68.

207 Introduction to the Our Father (CHR and BAS): Brightman 391; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 68, 95.

208 I.e., the Our Father.

209 The greeting *Εἰρήνη πᾶσι* ["Peace (be) to all"] immediately after the Our Father: Brightman 392; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 68, 95.

210 The call *Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν* ("Let us bow our heads to the Lord"): *ibid.*

211 Brightman 393; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 69, 96.

212 The ordinary (non-festive) *koinonikon* verse: Brightman 393.

213 Cf. Phil 2:11.

PG 300

Θεοῦ μετέχομεν τῶν χαρίτων, καὶ θεοὶ ἐσμεν, ὡς τῶν τῇ παραβάσει ἐναντίων νῦν γεγονότων, τοῦ Θεοῦ σαρκωθέντος τοῦ ἀθανάτου ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ δούλου μορφὴν ἐνδυ/σαμένου, καὶ θνητοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τὰ κτίσματα γεγονότος, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώπου δεδειγμένου, καὶ τεθυμένου ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

f 39

148. Ὅθεν ἀφροσύνη μὲν ἡ ἡμῶν ἐγχείρησις, ἣν τὸ βουλευθῆναι γενέσθαι θεοὺς καὶ παρα || βῆναι· ὅτι καὶ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι θεοὺς ἡμᾶς κτίσματα ὄντας. ἡ οἰκονομία δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, ὡς παντοδυνάμου μόνου, ἀληθῆς τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας. διὸ⁹⁸ καὶ ἠνώθη ἄκρως ἡμῖν, ὅπερ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἦν· καὶ ἀπέθανε δι' ἡμᾶς σαρκί, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ἀγαθότητος· καὶ τὴν ἀθανασίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς θεότητος δόξαν διὰ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν ἐχορήγησεν. ὁρᾶτε τὸ μυστήριον ὅσον;

149. Εἶτα ὁ μελισμὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἄρτου γίνεται. ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γὰρ μερίζεται ὁ ἀμέριστος, ἵνα πάντες αὐτοῦ μετέχωμεν· καὶ ἀδιαίρετος ὢν, δι' ἡμᾶς διαιρεῖται, ἐνὼν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐν ποιῶν, ὥσπερ ἠϋζατο.

150. Ἡ τοῦ ποτηρίου δὲ ἔνωσις, τὸ εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τὸν θεῖον ἄρτον, ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, εἰ καὶ ἐν ποτηρίῳ καὶ ἄρτῳ καθορᾶται· καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς στήριγμός τε διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ εὐφροσύνη διὰ τοῦ ποτηρίου· καὶ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν ἐστὶ.

151. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἡ κοινωνία, ὅτι τοῦτο τέλος ἀπάντων, ἡ Θεοῦ κοινωνία, καὶ τὸ ἄκρως τοῦτο ἀγαθόν τε καὶ ἐφετόν. κατὰ τάξιν δὲ καὶ αὕτη, ὡς προειρηκάμεν, γίνεται διὰ τὴν εὐταξίαν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης εὐλάβειαν. ἕκαστος γὰρ ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ τάγματι μετέχει τῶν μυστηρίων. δίκαιος γὰρ ὢν καὶ εὐθύς ὁ Κύριος, ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἑαυτὸν ἡμῖν τοῖς πᾶσι παρέχει.

152. Ὅθεν καὶ ἀμέσως μὲν τούτου καὶ μόνος καὶ πρῶτος κοινωνεῖ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς· ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαγγέλοις οἱ πρῶτοι πρῶτον μετέχουσι, καὶ δι'

live, and share in the graces of God, and we are gods, we who were but recently enemies through transgression, because God, the immortal One, became incarnate for us, He put on the form of a slave²¹⁴ and became a mortal, became one after the fashion of creatures, was shown to be truly a man, and was sacrificed for us.

148. Therefore our undertaking was madness, the desire to become gods and to transgress, because it is impossible for us being creatures to become gods. But the economy <of salvation> of God the Word, the only all-powerful One, is true and good and for our salvation. Therefore He was united to us to the highest degree, which He did for us; and He died for us in the flesh, which was the summit of goodness, and through His death He granted us the immortality and the glory of the divinity. Do you see the greatness of the mystery?

149. Then the breaking of the sacred bread takes place. § E 95
For the inseparable One is separated in pieces for our sake, so that we all may partake of Him, and being indivisible He is divided for us, uniting us to Himself, and making us one, just as He prayed.²¹⁵

150. Then there is the union of the chalice, the placing of § E 95
the divine bread into the chalice,²¹⁶ because Christ is one, even when He is seen in chalice and bread, and He is a support through the bread and a joy through the chalice, and He is our peace.

151. After this, communion takes place, because this is the goal of all, the communion in God, and this is the supremely good and desirable thing. And this takes place according to rank, as we have said, through good order, righteousness, and reverence coming from humility. For each partakes of the mysteries according to his own rank. For the Lord, being righteous and direct, provides Himself to us all in righteousness.

152. Therefore the bishop first and alone receives com- § E 99, L 98, L 139
munion directly,²¹⁷ just as among the archangels the first partake first, and through them the intermediate ones,

214 Cf. Phil 2:7.

215 Brightman 393; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 69; cf. Jn 17:11–23.

216 Brightman 393–394; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 70.

217 *Ἀρχιερατικόν* 29.

αὐτῶν οἱ μέσοι, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους οἱ λοιποί, ὥς φησι Διονύσιος. ὅθεν καὶ δι' ἀρχιερέως ἐπίσκοποί τε καὶ ἱερεῖς, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἱερεῖς καὶ διάκονοι.

f 39v 153. Ὅστερον δ' αὖθις εἰσκομισθέντων τῶν ἱερῶν λειψάνων τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρτου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ποτηρίῳ, δέικνυται τοῦτο πᾶσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, αὐτὸ αὐτοῦ ἀληθῶς τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα, ᾧ διὰ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν περιούσιον ἡμᾶς ἱερούργησε, καὶ γεύεσθαι καὶ βλέπειν καὶ ἄπτεσθαι παρέχει τε καὶ ἐφίεται. διὸ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λαὸς ἐκ ψυχῆς ὁρᾷ τούτον, καὶ προσκυνεῖ, καὶ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτεῖται· τοῦ διακόνου μὲν βοῶντος τὸ προσελθεῖν || μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ πίστεως, ἵνα μετασχεῖν τινες προσελθόντες, μὴ εἰς κρίμα μετάσχωσιν ἑαυτοῖς· τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δὲ τοῖς προσελθοῦσι μεταλαβεῖν διδόντος διὰ λαβίδος· καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν ὁπτασίαν τοῦ Ἡσαΐου, ὅτι οὐ χρὴ πάντας ἀμέσως μετέχειν, ὥς εἴρηται, τῶν θείων τε καὶ φρικτῶν· καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς θείοις εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ συστέλλεσθαι καὶ εἰ τὰ χερουβὶμ ἠύλαβεῖτο, πολλῶ γε μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς εὐλαβεῖσθαι χρὴ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ τύπον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁρῶντας αὐτήν.

154. Διὸ τὸν τε νέμοντα ἱεράρχην ἢ ἱερέα τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια δεῖ τὸν προσερχόμενον μεταλαβεῖν, προσκυνεῖν καὶ συγχώρησιν ἐξαιτεῖσθαι, ὥς καὶ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν πάντων πρότερον. καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ⁹⁹ τὸν ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ζῶντα ἄρτον μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος ἄχρῃς ἐδάφους

and after these the rest, as Dionysios says.²¹⁸ Therefore bishops and priests <receive> through a bishop, and all the rest of the priests and deacons <receive> through the priests.

153. Then later, when the sacred remnants of the divine bread have been introduced into the sacred chalice,²¹⁹ that which is Christ is shown to all, it being truly His body and blood which He has consecrated in the sacred-service for us, His very own people, and He provides and commands us to taste, see, and partake. Therefore the sacred people also see Him with the soul, and bow in reverence and ask for what leads to salvation. The deacon cries out <for them> to come forward with fear of God and faith,²²¹ so that those coming forward to partake may not partake to their own condemnation, and the bishop gives <communion> with a spoon to those coming forward <to partake>.²²¹ This is according to the vision of Isaiah,²²² that it is necessary that not all partake directly, as was said, of the divine and awe-inspiring things, and that it is necessary to be reverent and humble regarding the holy things. If the Cherubim behaved with reverence, how much more necessary is it for us to be reverent, for we see not a figure, but the reality²²³ itself.²²⁴ § L 95, L 140, L 156

154. Therefore the one coming forward to partake must make a reverence to the hierarch or priest distributing the divine mysteries and ask forgiveness, just as was done by all the faithful earlier.²²⁵ And it is necessary with one's whole soul to bow to the ground in reverence to Him who is the § E 100

218 On the angels: *Corpus* 2:27–41; *Works* 161–174 (PG 3:205B–273C). On communion order, *Corpus* 2:93–94, *Works* 223 (PG 3:444D–445A).

219 Brightman 395; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 71.

220 Invitation to the laity to communion: Brightman 395; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 72, 96.

221 On the use of the spoon for communion, cf. Taft, chapter 4 of *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites*, 262–315.

222 Cf. Is 6.

223 Or “not a symbol, but the truth...”

224 Cf. *Ἀρχιερατικόν* 30.

225 This may be a reference to either the confession Ὁ Θεὸς ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ (“O God, have mercy on me a sinner”), said by the bishop, the priest, and the deacon immediately before the elevation at Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις (“The holy things for the holy”): Brightman 393; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 69; or to one of the series of the precommunion prayers: Brightman 394; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 70.

PG 301

ὀλοψύχως δεῖ προσκυνεῖν· καὶ οὕτω τὰς χεῖρας δεσμεῖν σταυρικῶς¹⁰⁰ εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς /δουλείας καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου ὁμολογίας· ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ κοινωνῆσαι προσέρχεται· καὶ οὕτω μετὰ φόβου καὶ φρίκης καὶ ταπεινώσεως καρδίας προσέρχεσθαι.

155. Κοινωνοῦσι τοίνυν εὐθύς· πρῶτον μὲν οἱ καὶ πάντοτε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἱερουργίαν κοινωνοῦντες ὑποδιάκονοι, ὅτι μετὰ τοὺς διακόνους οὗτοι· καὶ οὐκ ἄδεια τούτοις ἔνδον τοῦ βήματος κοινωνεῖν· ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐντὸς κεχειροτόνηται· ἔπειτα ἀναγνώσται καὶ μοναχοί· καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ λαϊκοί· οὔτε γὰρ ἐντὸς τοῦ βήματος πλὴν ἀρχιερέων, πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων τις ἄλλος¹⁰¹ μεταλαμβάνει, ὅτι καὶ αἱ τρεῖς τάξεις αὐταὶ ἐντὸς μόναι χειροτονοῦνται τοῦ βήματος.

156. Οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἔξωθεν τούτου οὔτε εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸν θεῖον ἄρτον λαμβάνουσιν, ὑποβεβηκότες τῇ τάξει καὶ τοῦ ἐσχάτου μέρους τελοῦντες τῷ βαθμῷ, κὰν ἀρετῇ ὑπερέχωσι· διὸ καὶ ἕκαστον τούτων¹⁰² χρῆ τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ τηρεῖν, ὥς καὶ ὁ Παῦλος παραγγέλλει· «Ἐκαστος», λέγων, «ἐν ἡ ἐκλήθη τάξει, ἐν ταύτῃ μενέτω»· ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ θεμέλιος τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐν τούτῳ εὐρίσκηται, ἢ ταπεινώσις· ἥτις καὶ ἐν ἀγγέλοις ἐστὶ· καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι οὕτως ἔσται. «Ἐκαστος δέ», φησι, πάλιν Παῦλος «ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ τάγματι».

f 40

157. Ὑστερον ἢ δὲ πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ἡ εὐλογία δίδοται, ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ, ἦν δὴ ὁ ἱεράρχης ποιεῖται, καὶ σωτηρίαν πᾶσιν ἐπεύχεται· εἶτα καὶ θυμιᾷ ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ πάλιν τὰ ἅγια, τὰ τῆς ἀναλήψεως λέγων, εὐχαριστῶν τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντι καὶ παθόντι καὶ ἀναστάντι σαρκί, καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνυψωθέντι, καὶ ζῶντι, καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν πληρώσαντι· καὶ εὐλογήσας τὸν Θεόν, δίδωσιν ἀπενεχθῆναι τὰ περιλειφθέντα τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῇ προθέσει, καὶ παρὰ τῶν διακόνων διοικηθῆναι.

100 σταυροειδῶς L (ed. Fountoulis) 362, l. 1446.

101 ἄλλως PG.

102 τούτον PG.

living bread in the chalice with the blood, and thus to bind one's hands as a cross as proof of servitude and in confession of the crucified One, since one is coming forward to receive Him in communion, and to come forward in this way with fear and awe and lowliness of heart.

155. Therefore <those outside the sanctuary> receive communion then, the subdeacons receiving communion first in every liturgy, because they come after the deacons. It is not permissible for subdeacons to receive communion in the sanctuary, because they have not been ordained inside it. Then the lectors and monks receive, and after them, the laity. No one other than bishops, priests, and deacons receives communion within the sanctuary, because only these three orders are ordained in the sanctuary.

156. The rest outside <the sanctuary> do not take the divine bread into their hands, being inferior in rank and belonging to the lowest class in rank, even if they are superior in virtue. Therefore it is necessary that each one keep to his own order, as Paul also commands, saying, "Let each one remain in the rank in which he was called,"²²⁶ so that in this might be found even more the foundation of the virtues: humility, which is found in the angels and will be in the age to come. Again Paul says, "Each in his own order."²²⁷ § L 95, L 140, L 153

157. Afterwards, the blessing is given to the people, as if § E 101-02 from the Savior Himself, a blessing which the hierarchy himself does and prays for the salvation for all. Then he incenses the holy things on the altar again, saying verses about the Ascension,²²⁸ thanking Him who for us was incarnate, suffered, rose in the flesh, was assumed to heaven, lives, and filled the whole earth with His glory. Having blessed God, he gives what is left over from the holy things to be carried away to the prothesis, and to be handled by the deacons.²²⁹

226 Cf. 1 Cor 7:20.

227 Cf. 1 Cor 15:23.

228 "Υψώθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἡ δόξα σου" ("May you be raised up, O God, above the heavens, and your glory be over all the earth"): Brightman 396, *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 72; cf. Ps 56 (57):6.

229 Cf. the post-communion rites: Brightman 396; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 72.

158. Ὁ δεύτερος δὲ τῶν ἱερέων τὴν ὀπισθάμβωνον εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐκφωνεῖ, εὐχόμενος μὲν ταύτην τὴν τελευταίαν εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, ἔργον δὲ ποιῶν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως· ὅτι καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν εὐχῶν καὶ τὸ τέλος ἔργον αὐτοῦ. ὁμῶς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ταύτην ἔνδον μυστικῶς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναφέρει διὰ τοῦτο οὖν καὶ προσελθόντα σφραγίζει τὸν ἱερέα μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὴν εὐχὴν, ὡς ὑπηρέτην ὄντα αὐτοῦ.

159. Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ὁ ἱεράρχης τὸ εἰλητὸν εἰλήσας, καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον θείας, καὶ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν, δηλῶν ἐκ τούτου ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἡγιασται, καὶ ἡνωμένος τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ τὰ τῆς λειτουργίας τετέλεκε, πρὸς τὰς θύρας τοῦ βήματος ἔξεισι, καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὸ ἀντίδωρον ἀπονέμει· ὅτι οὐ τοῦ βήματος ὁ λαός, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ὁ ὑψηλὸς συγκατέρχεται, καὶ ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς δίδωσι πολυτρόπως.

Περὶ τοῦ
ἀντιδώρου, καὶ ὅτι
ἡγιασμένος ἄρτος
οὗτος.

PG 304

160. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἀντίδωρον ἡγιασμένος ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἐν τῇ προθέσει προσενεχθεὶς, οὗ τὸ μεσαίτατον ἐκβληθὲν ἱερουργήθη, καὶ σῶμα Χριστοῦ γέγονεν. ἀντὶ γοῦν τοῦ μεγάλου ἐκείνου δώρου τῆς φρικτῆς κοινωνίας, ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντες ἐκείνου ἱκανοὶ μετασχεῖν, /τούτου δίδοται ἀντ' ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀντίδωρον οἰκείως προσονομάζεται, ὅτι καὶ δωρεὰν χάριτος παρέχει Θεοῦ. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡγιασμένος ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος ἄρτος, σφραγιζόμενός τε τῇ λόγῃ, καὶ ἱερὰ δεχόμενος ῥήματα· οὐ μὴν δὲ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. τὰ μυστήρια γὰρ ἐκεῖναί εἰσι· τοῦτο δὲ ἁγιασμοῦ μεταδοτικὸν μόνον, καὶ δωρεᾶς θείας πάροχον || τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ προθέσει ῥημάτων.

f 40v

161. Τέλος τὸν λαὸν πάλιν σφραγίσας, καὶ εὐλογίαν παρὰ Κυρίου ἐπευξάμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀπολύει, τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῶν τῆς παναγίας αὐτοῦ Μητρὸς πρεσβειῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν

158. The second of the priests says aloud the prayer behind the ambo for the people outside the sacred sanctuary to hear,²³⁰ praying this last prayer for the people, while doing the work of the bishop, because the beginnings and end of the prayers are <the bishop's> task. Likewise the bishop inside quietly offers this prayer up to God. So, for this reason, he seals <with the sign of the cross> the priest who approaches after saying the prayer as being his assistant.

159. The hierarch himself in turn, having folded the eileton and placed the Gospel, kisses it and the sacred altar, representing by this that he was sanctified from there and is united to the altar. Since he has completed the rites of the liturgy, he goes out to the doors of the sanctuary and distributes the antidoron to the people,²³¹ because the people are not of the sanctuary, and because the lofty One comes down to the lowly and gives Himself to them in many ways. § E 103

160. This antidoron is blessed bread, offered in the prothesis, out of which the removed middle part was consecrated in the sacred-service, and became the body of Christ. Since not all are worthy of partaking of Christ's body, at least this is given in place of that great gift of the awe-inspiring communion, and so it is fittingly called "antidoron," because it also provides a gift of God's grace. For this bread is also blessed and sealed <with the sign of the cross> by the lance and has received sacred words, but it is not communion of the body of Christ. Those are the mysteries; this is only the distribution of a blessing and the providing of a divine gift, which <derive> from the words in the prothesis.²³² <100.> About the antidoron and that this bread is blessed. § E 104

161. Finally, the bishop, sealing the people again <with the sign of the cross> and having prayed for a blessing from the Lord, dismisses them. Having called on our true God Christ through the intercession of His all-holy

230 Cf. Brightman 397–398; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 73.

231 Cf. Brightman 399; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 74.

232 ἀντίδωρον originally indicated in classical Greek a return gift, that is one in exchange for another. In the Christian liturgical usage it came to indicate the blessed bread distributed in place of the eucharist, either "instead of the gifts" or the "gift instead" (of the eucharist).

ἀγίων ἐλεῆσαι πάντας καὶ σῶσαι ἐπικαλεσάμενος,¹⁰³ κηρύττων ἅμα καὶ μαρτυρῶν, ὅτι διὰ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκονομίας καὶ τῆς ἱερουργίας σεσώμεθά τε καὶ σωθησόμεθα, συνεργούσης ταῖς εὐχαῖς τοῦ ὑπηρετοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου μυστηρίου, τῆς Θεοτόκου, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡγιασμένων ἐκ τούτου.

162. Ὅτε παρευθὺς ὁ τῶν ψαλλόντων χορὸς τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς εὐχεται μετὰ ὕμνου, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, οὐ τὸν ἀνθρωπινὸν ἀπλῶς εὐφημοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πιστὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον ἀρχιερωσύνην διαμένειν εὐχόμενοι, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ τῆς ἱερουργίας ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αἰωνίως ἀκωλύτως διενεργεῖσθαι. οὐς καὶ τὸν λαὸν τρεῖς σφραγίσας ὕστερον πάλιν, καὶ ἐπευξάμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, τὸ «Νῦν ἀπολύεις» καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λέγει, τοῦ Συμεὼν μεμνημένος, ἡνίκα τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγκάλαις ἐδέξατο. καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀποτίθεται ἄμφια. προσευξάμενος οὖν καὶ ἀπολύσας, ὑπὲρ πάντων εὐχαριστεῖ· καὶ τρεῖς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσκυνήσας, ἀπέρχεται.

163. Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἱερᾶς τελετῆς, μεγίστους μὲν κατ' αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἔχουσα τοὺς λόγους, κατὰ δύναμιν δὲ ἡμετέραν ὥς ἦν δυνατόν συνοπτικώτερον¹⁰⁴ συντεθεῖσά τε καὶ θεωρηθεῖσα, ἐπεὶ πολλοῖς περὶ ταύτης λέλεκται θεοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ὑψηλόρωσ καὶ θαυμαστώσ· καὶ οὐδεὶς κατατολμᾷ ἡμᾶς τῶν ὑπὲρ¹⁰⁵ ἡμᾶς· καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ δι' ὑμᾶς.

164. Κληρικός· Χάρις τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν λίαν οὕτως ὑψηλῶν τε καὶ θείων πραγμάτων τούτων ἱκανῶς ὠφελήθημεν.¹⁰⁶ ζητοῦμεν δὲ μαθεῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τελετῆς καὶ καθιερώσεως τοῦ ναοῦ, ὥς ἂν καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ θείων συμβόλων τοὺς λόγους ἔχωμεν.¹⁰⁷

103 Above line Z¹. 104 συνοπτικώτερον Z. 105 ἡμᾶς τῶν ὑπὲρ om. PG.

106 Here concludes L (ed. Fountoulis) 370, l. 1545. 107 Conclusion of L, PG 304 (Z f 40 v, l. 26). Z continues on the same line with the beginning of "Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ναοῦ καὶ τῆς τούτου καθιερώσεως" (On the holy temple and its consecration), Ἀρχιερεὺς. Καὶ περὶ τούτου ἐροῦμεν Θεοῦ διδόντος. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀκόλουθον περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ μύρου καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας εἰρηκότας ἡμᾶς, καὶ περὶ τούτου διαλαβεῖν· εἶτα καὶ περὶ, the end of f 40 v.

mother and of all the saints to have mercy on and save all, he both preaches²³³ and witnesses that through the Savior's economy <of salvation> and through the sacred-service we have been saved and will be saved, with the sacred-service working together with the prayers of the minister of the greatest mystery, the Theotokos, and of all those sanctified by it.²³⁴

162. Then immediately the choir of psalmists prays for the sovereigns with a hymn and for the bishop himself, acclaiming not simply the man, but also praying that the faithful empire and the Orthodox episcopacy endure, and that the work of the sacred-service be carried out for us in an unhindered manner always. Having sealed them and the people <with the sign of the cross> three times again later and having prayed, the bishop says to himself "Now You let depart"²³⁵ and what follows, remembering Symeon when he received Christ in his arms.²³⁶ He takes off the sacred vestments. So having prayed and dismissed, he gives thanks for all. And after making three reverences toward the altar, he departs.

163. Such are the elements of the great and sacred rite, which is so meaningful in itself and for our sake. According to our ability we composed and examined in summary as much as was possible, since many divine men have spoken in sublime language and wondrously about this. And we should not dare to do so for our own sake, for this is also for you.

164. Cleric: Thanks be to God, that about these so exceedingly lofty and divine matters we have benefited so much. But we seek also to learn about the rite and the consecration of the temple, so that also in this we might know the meanings of the divine symbols.

233 Or "proclaiming," κηρύττω/κηρύσσω, Liddell-Scott 949.

234 Cf. the prayer accompanying the postcommunion litany of thanksgiving of CHR: Brightman 342; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 72-73.

235 Lk 2:28-32.

236 Other than Symeon's canticle, Symeon does not tell us what other prayers he would pray after the final blessing. For contemporary usage, cf. Brightman 399; *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* 74.

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Published Works of Symeon

An asterisk indicates the "classical" (previously known) works of Symeon, published at Iași in 1689, reprinted in PG 155. The extremely numerous and frequently very brief prayers and hymns are omitted in this list; the published ones appear in *Συμεὼν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τὰ λειτουργικὰ συγγράμματα, 1 Εὐχαὶ καὶ ὕμνοι*, ed. by Iōannēs M. Fountoulis.

- * *Αποκρίσεις πρὸς τινὰς ἐρωτήσεις ἀρχιερέως ἡρωτηκότος αὐτὸν [τὸν Πενταπόλεως Γαβριήλ]* (Answers of the bishop to some questions asked him [by Gabriel of Pentapolis]). PG 155:829–952.

*Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ κατὰ πασῶν τῶν αἵρέσεων, περὶ τῆς μόνης πίστεως τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῶν ἱερῶν τελετῶν τε καὶ μυστηρίων πάντων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ἴδιον κεκτῆμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων Γραφῶν, καὶ τῶν Πατέρων ἐραϊσθεῖς αὐτῷ καὶ σύντεθεῖς κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀπολογίας διδοὺς ἐκάστω τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς ἠρωτηκόντων (Dialogue in Christ against all heresies, and about the one faith of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, and about the priestly services and all sacraments of the Church, and no element formulated on his own, but gathered by him from Holy Scripture and the Fathers and assembled as best we could, answers given to each of the questions sometimes asked <of him>). PG 155:33–696.

Διδασκαλία πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβῆ δεσπότην κυρὸν Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Παλαιολόγον, γενόμενον μοναχόν, παραμυθητικὴ τε ἅμα καὶ παραινετικὴ (A consolatory and admonitory instruction to the pious despot Lord Andronikos Palaiologos, when he became a monk). PHW 78–82.

*Ἐκθεσις ἀναγκαιότητι περὶ τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ συμβόλου ῥήσεων (Indispensable exposition of the statements of the sacred creed). PG 155:804–817.

Ἐνταλτήριον πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀναδέχεσθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν προσερχομένων Χριστιανῶν πνευματικὸς πατέρας (Instruction to spiritual fathers [pneumatikoi] about to receive the confessions of Christians coming to them). ThW 245–246. A “document imparting the faculty of pneumatikós” (PHW 25).

Ἐπιστολὴ δογματικὴ τε ἅμα καὶ παραινετικὴ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ὀρθοδόξων, ἀντιποιοῦμενον τοῦ κατὰ διδασκαλίαν ὀρθοῦ λόγου (Dogmatic and admonitory letter to a certain person among the Orthodox in Crete, who opposes the Orthodox teachings). ThW 199–219. Published as Ἀνανύμων κατὰ Λατίνων (Anonymous against the Latins), in Τόμος Ἀγάπης κατὰ Λατίνων (Book of love against the Latins; PHW 24).

Ἐπιστολὴ πεμφθεῖσα πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ Κίτρον καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Θετταλίαν ἁγίαις ἐπισκοπαῖς εὐσεβέσιν (Letter sent to all the pious in the diocese of Kitros and to all other holy, pious dioceses throughout Thessaly).¹ ThW 160–170.

Ἐπιστολὴ πεμφθεῖσα Παύλῳ μοναχῷ ἐξ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθῆ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἡμῶν πίστιν ἐπιστρέψαντι, καὶ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων (Letter sent to the monk Paul, who converted from Judaism to our true faith of Christians, and against the Jews). ThW 140–156.

Ἐπιστολὴ πρότερον μὲν γραφεῖσα εἰς στηριγμὸν εὐσεβείας² πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ανατολῇ πιστοὺς, τοὺς κατὰ Καισάρειαν καὶ Ἀγκυραν, διὰ τινος διακόνου ζητήσαντος, ὕστερον δὲ πλατυνθεῖσα μικρόν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Θετταλίαν ἐκδοθεῖσα (Letter written at first for the support of piety to the faithful in the East, both in Caesarea and Ankara, requested by a certain deacon, and later expanded a little and passed on to those in the area of Thessaly). ThW 111–137.

¹ As elsewhere in Symeon's writing, “pious” (εὐσεβής) here means “Orthodox,” cf. E 1 footnote 2.

² “Piety” (εὐσεβεία) = “Orthodoxy,” cf. E 1 footnote 2.

- Ἐπιστολή προτρεπτική πρὸς σωτηρίας ὁδόν, ἀποσταλθεῖσα ἐν ταῖς κατὰ πάσαν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν αὐτοῦ ἀγίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις (Letter of encouragement toward the path of faith, sent to the holy churches of God throughout his diocese). *ThW* 84–109.
- Ἔργα θεολογικά, Ἀγίου Συμεὼν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης (1416/17–1429) (Theological Works of St. Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonika, 1416/17–1429 = *ThW*). Ed. by David Balfour. Ἀναλέκτα Βλατάδων 34. Thessalonika: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἱδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, 1981.
- * Ἑρμηνεία περὶ τοῦ θείου ναοῦ (Explanation of the divine temple = E). In *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum &c. cuilibet personae, statui vel tempori congruos, juxta usum orientalis ecclesiae...* (ed. by Jacques Goar) 212–232; *PG* 155:697–749; and in this ed.
 - * Ἑρμηνεία συνοπτική κατὰ δύναμιν εἰς τὸ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ἀμωμήτου ἡμῶν πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν σύμβολον (Comprehensive interpretation according to our ability of the divine and sacred creed of our Orthodox and blameless faith of Christians). *PG* 155:752–801.
 - * Κατὰ αἱρέσεων καὶ περὶ τῆς μόνης ὀρθῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως, τῶν τε ἱερῶν τελετῶν καὶ μυστηρίων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διάλογος περὶ τε τοῦ θείου ναοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀρχιερέων τε καὶ ἱερέων καὶ διακόνων, καὶ τῶν ὧν ἕκαστος στολῶν ἱερῶν περιβάλλεται, καὶ περὶ τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας εἰς τὸ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως σύμβολον ἑρμηνεία, καὶ τῶν τούτου ῥήσεων ἑκθεσις ὅθεν τε συνελέγησαν, καὶ κατὰ τίνων συγκείμεναί εἰσιν, ἔτι δὲ περιεκτικὰ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως κεφάλαια, ἥτοι ἄρθρα δώδεκα, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα περιέχει τὸ ἱερὸν σύμβολον, καὶ περὶ τῶν περιεκτικῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀποκρίσεις τε πρὸς τινὰς ἐρωτήσεις ἀρχιερέως ἠρωτηκότες αὐτόν, καὶ τελευταῖον περὶ ἱερωσύνης (Dialogue against heresies and on the one true faith of Christians and on the sacred rites and sacraments of the church, and also about the divine temple and the bishops, priests, and deacons and the sacred vestments, with which each is vested, and about the divine mystagogy and interpretation of both the Orthodox profession of the faith of Christians and an exposition of its statements from where they were gathered and of which they are composed, as well as chapters laying out the Orthodox faith, or twelve articles, and that these contain the sacred profession <of faith>, and about the virtues involved, <and> finally both some answers of the bishop to questions asked of him and about priesthood). Ed. by J. Molivos. Iasi, 1683. The original publication of the “classical” works of Symeon, reprinted in *PG* 155.
 - * “Κατὰ πασῶν τῶν αἱρέσεων” (Against all heresies), first section in Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ (Dialogue in Christ). *PG* 155:33–176.
- Τὰ Λειτουργικά συγγράμματα, Συμεὼν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, 1 Εὐχαὶ καὶ ὕμνοι (The liturgical compositions of Symeon, archbishop of Thessalonika. I Prayers and hymns). Σειρὰ φιλολογικὴ καὶ θεολογικὴ 10. Ed. by Ἰωάννης Μ. Φουντούλης. Thessalonika: Ἐταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, 1968.
- Λόγος εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν ἑορτὴν τοῦ μεγίστου ἐν ἀθληταῖς ἀγίοις θαυματουργοῦ καὶ μυροχεύμενος Δημητρίου (Oration on the illustrious feast of the greatest wonder-worker among the holy athletes and the myrrh-giver Demetrius). *ThW* 187–194.

Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις μέγιστον ἀθλητὴν καὶ μυροβλύτην Δημήτριον, ἐν ἱστορίας τύπῳ τὰ νεωστὶ αὐτοῦ γεγονότα διηγούμενος θαύματα (Oration on the greatest athlete among the saints, the myrrh-giver Demetrios, presented as a history of the recent miracles wrought by him). *PHW* 39–69.

Ὀμιλία τε καὶ ἀπολογία ἐν τῷ ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς Κωνσταντινουπόλιν αὐτόν, ὅτε καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὀρους ἀπελθὼν, τῆς τῶν ἀθέων Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐπιδρομῆς γενομένης, ἐπανήλθε πάλιν, ἀποστείλαντος γράμματα τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου δεσπότη, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὀρει θείων ἀνδρῶν συμβουλευσαμένων διὰ τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ὀφειλὴν (Oration and apologia for his departure for Constantinople, when reaching as far as the holy mountain, at the time of the attack of the godless Muslims, he came back, having sent letters to the most honorable despot, having been advised by the godly men on the holy mountain through obedience in Christ to do so). *PHW* 70–76.

* *Περὶ ἱερωσύνης* (On priesthood). PG 155:953–976.

* *“Περὶ μετανοίας”* (On Penance), seventh section in *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ). PG 155:469–504.

* *“Περὶ τῆς ἱεράς λειτουργίας”* (On the sacred liturgy = L), fourth section in *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ). In PG 155:253–304; in *Ἡ Θεία εὐχαριστία. Εἰσηγήσεις, πορίσματα, ἱερατικοῦ συνέδριον τῆς ἱεράς μητροπόλεως Δράμας* (The Divine Eucharist. Proceedings, conclusions of the priestly assembly of the holy metropolitan diocese of Drama), ed. and modern Greek trans. by Iōannēs M. Fountoulis, 194–371 (Drama, Greece: Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Δράμας, 2003); and in this ed.

* *“Περὶ τῆς θείας προσευχῆς”* (On divine prayer), tenth section in *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ). PG 155:536–669.

* *“Περὶ τῆς ἱεράς τελετῆς τοῦ ἁγίου ἐλαίου ἥτοι εὐχέλαιου”* (On the sacred sacrament of holy oil, or the anointing of the sick), ninth section in *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ). PG 155:516–536.

* *“Περὶ τῆς ἱεράς τελετῆς τοῦ ἁγίου μύρου”* (On the sacred sacrament of holy chrism), third section in *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ). PG 155:237–252.

Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ θείου ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος, περὶ τε ἡσυχαστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν κοινοβίοις καὶ ὑποτακτικῶν (On the holy and divine angelic [monastic] habit, on the hesychasts and those in monasteries and on subordinates). *ThW* 173–184.

* *“Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ναοῦ καὶ τῆς τούτου καθιερώσεως”* (On the holy temple and its dedication), fifth section in *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ). PG 155:305–361.

* *“Περὶ τοῦ τέλους ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἱεράς τάξεως τῆς κηδείας καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἔθος ὑπὲρ μνήμης γινομένων”* (On our end and the sacred order of funerals and what is customarily done in memory [of the deceased]), eleventh section in *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ). PG 155:669–696.

* *“Περὶ τοῦ τιμίῳ νομίμου γάμου”* (On honorable lawful marriage), eighth section in *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ). PG 155:504–516.

* *“Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τελετῶν”* (On the Sacred Sacraments), second section in *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ). PG 155:176–237.

* *“Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χειροτονιῶν”* (On sacred ordinations), sixth section in *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ). PG 155:361–469.

* Περιεκτικὰ ὡς δύνατον τῆς μόνης τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἡμῶν πίστεως κεφάλαια δώδεκα (Twelve general chapters containing, insofar as possible, the one faith of Christians). PG 155:820–829.

Συγχωρητικὸν γράμμα (Letter of remission). *ThW* 246. A “certificate granting absolution from all sins and penalties” (PHW 25).

Συμβουλία καὶ εὐχή τοῖς ἱσταμένοις πιστῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίως ἔχουσιν ἐπιτίμησις (Advice and prayer for those having taken a faithful stand for their country, and censure of those holding a contrary position). PHW 83–87.

Συμβουλία ὁμοίως περὶ τοῦ ἱστασθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ κατὰ τῶν φρονούντων τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐπιτίμησις (Advice likewise on taking a stand for Christ for one’s country, and censure against those taking the side of the impious). PHW 88–90.

Τινὶ περιφανῶν ὀρθοδόξων, διδασκαλίαν αἰτησαμένῳ μικράν (A brief instruction requested by an Orthodox nobleman). *ThW* 222–228. “Could have been titled *Περὶ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν μακαρισμῶν*” (PHW 24).

Τῷ δεσποτῇ (To the despot). PHW 77.

Politico-historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429) (= PHW). Ed. by David Balfour. Wiener Byzantinische Studien 13. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979.

An untitled private letter mostly concerning a certain monk-priest Kallistos. PHW 91–93.

An untitled private letter addressed to Makarios Makrês, about Kallistos and the planned union council. PHW 94–97.

An untitled letter to the archpriest of Chandax (Canea) in Crete. *ThW* 232–235.

An untitled letter, apparently to Patriarch Joseph (1416–1439). *ThW* 239–242.

Translations of Symeon’s Works

Τὰ Ἀπαντα Συμεῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης (All the works of Symeon archbishop of Thessalonika). Thessalonika: Βασ. Ρηγοπούλου, 1993. Reprint of 1882 ed. Modern Greek trans. of the “classical” works of Symeon.

Блаженнейшаго Архиепископа Θεσσαλονίκσкаго Симеона. Разглагольство въ Христѣ на вся ереси, и о единой верѣ Господа и Бога и Спаса нашего Иисуса Христа, и о священныхъ службахъ же и Таинствахъ всехъ церковныхъ, ничтоже свое собственное имеюще, но отъ святыхъ писаний и отцевъ собранное имъ и сложное по силе, ответы дающе коемуждо по временемъ вопросившихъ (Of the most blessed archbishop of Thessalonika Symeon. Dialogue in Christ against all heresies, and about the one faith of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, and about the sacred services and all sacraments of the Church, and no element formulated on his own, but gathered by him from Holy Scripture and the fathers and assembled as best we could, answers given to each of the questions sometimes asked <of him> = title of *Ὁ Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ*..., the first of the previously known works). Slavonic translation of the “classical”

- works of Symeon by Evfimii Čudovskii (late 17th cent.). Moscow: Типография Единоверцев при Свято-Троицкой Введенской церкви, 1894.
- О *Świątyni Bożej* (On the temple of God). Polish trans. of E by Anna Maciejewska. Mysterion series. Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2007.
- Traktat asupra tuturor Dogmelor Credinței noastre ortodoxe după adevăratele principii puse de Domnul nostru Iisus Hristos și urmașii săi*³ (Treatise on all the dogmas of our Orthodox Faith, according to true principles given by our Lord Jesus Christ and His followers). Romanian trans. by Toma Teodorescu of the "classical" works of Symeon. Bucharest: Tipografia lui Toma Teodorescu, 1865.
- Treatise on Prayer: An Explanation of the Services Conducted in the Orthodox Church by Symeon of Thessalonike*. English trans. by H.L.N. Simmons of "Περὶ τῆς θείας προσευχῆς" (On divine prayer). Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Pastoral Sources 9. Brookline, MA, 1984.
- Труды Блаженного Симеона Архиепископа Фессалонийского* (Works of Blessed Symeon, archbishop of Thessalonika). Russian trans. of the "classical" works of Symeon. Moscow: Журнал Старообрядческая мысль, 1916.
- Über die göttliche Mystagogie: eine Liturgieerklärung aus spätbyzantinischer Zeit / Symeon von Thessaloniki* (On the divine mystagogy: An explanation of the liturgy from the late Byzantine period / Symeon of Thessalonika). German trans. of E by Wolfram and Klaus Gamber. *Studia Patristica et Liturgica* 12. Regensburg: Kommissionsverlag Freidrich Pustet, 1984.

3 In modern Romanian the title would be "Tratat asupra tuturor Dogmelor Credinței noastre ortodoxe, după adevăratele principii puse de Domnul nostru Isus Hristos și urmașii săi."

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General Index

In this index, Greek terms are noted when they have, or might have, some particular theological, historical, linguistic, or liturgical interest. For instance, the Greek word ἄρτος ("bread") is not included because there seems to be nothing notable in Symeon's usage of the word, although the English word "bread" is found in the index.

Index entries to Greek words are alphabetized according to the Latin alphabet. Vowels with rough breathing are alphabetized under the vowel, not under H. The Greek consonants Θ, Φ, Χ, and Ψ are alphabetized as Th, Ph, Ch, and Ps respectively, and the Greek vowels Η, Υ, and Ω as E, U, and O. Within individual entries (such as the words using the root τελε- below), lists of Greek words are alphabetized according to the Greek alphabet.

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